HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

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THE GERMAN PEOPLE

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HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

By Johannes Janssen

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIFTEENTH GERMAN EDITION

'THERE cannot be a more delightful or profitable task than to set forth the annals of German history in a popular manner—popular, *i.e.*, in the highest sense of the word; to make oneself acquainted, as far as possible, with all available materials of research, and, summing these up in a comprehensive whole, to present them in vigorous language to the educated portions of the public; and I praise the man who already in youth has set before himself so noble a work. We must uplift ourselves by means of high and noble aims, and gain through them strength, courage, and self-abnegation.' Thus wrote Böhmer to me on May 5, 1854, in reply to a letter of mine which I had accompanied with a copy of my book on the Abbot Wibald von Stablo, and in which I had told him of my intention to make the compilation of a History of the German People the principal work of my life. I had said that I meant to give special attention to the study of the civil growth and development (*Kulturgeschichte*) of the nation, and to bring this element into the foreground of my picture, and Böhmer answered me: 'I certainly consider it

essential in our times to treat history more from the point of view of civil and intellectual development, but I also think that this aspect may and must be kept to a certain extent distinct from history in the narrower sense—*i.e.* from political history.'

In the autumn of 1854 I migrated to Frankfort, and during the first years of my sojourn there I busied myself, under Böhmer's eye and guidance, with the epochs dealt with in the Imperial Registers. From 1857 onwards, however, I devoted myself almost exclusively to the study of the closing years of the Middle Ages and to the new era coming in, and I brought down the scope of my historical scheme to within the limits of these two periods.

In my researches among archives, those of Frankfort (whose quite unique importance as regards the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had already been pointed out by Böhmer on the publication of his 'Frankfurt. Urkundenbuch') yielded me the most abundant harvest. On the basis of these, in the years 1863–1873, I published, for the period from King Wenceslas to the death of Maximilian, 'Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, nebst andern verwandten Aktenstücken' (in two vols.), and in the next two years, 1873–1875, I selected the most important parts bearing on the epoch of the Church separation down to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. For the illustration of this period I also obtained valuable materials from a quantity of archives formerly at Treves and Mayence, and a certain amount also from the archives at Lucerne, Zürich, Wertheim, and other

places. I have made use of these materials in the first five volumes of my work.

If at the outset I had resolved to bring out, more prominently than had ever yet been done in general historical writings, the civil and intellectual growth of our nation; not to give marked preference to so-called leading state events, campaigns and battles, but to depict the German national life in all its varying conditions, and stages, and phases of destiny, the need for such a method of procedure seemed to me most especially urgent for the close of the Middle Ages.

With regard to the intellectual and economic life of the people at this period, we are well supplied with admirable treatises and monographs, mostly the work of trustworthy and unprejudiced Protestant investigators, but we do not possess a single comprehensive work embodying all the fragmentary contributions in one systematic whole. Such a work, however, seemed to me indispensable for a worthy and unbiassed understanding of German life at these times. I made it my endeavour, therefore, to combine together in one picture all the various information given by pamphlets, treatises, &c., on the secular education and the religious instruction of the people, on science, philosophy, and art, on the conditions of agriculture, industry, trade, and capital, and then, as far as possible, to supplement and complete the picture by means of personal study of authentic records—above all by pressing into my service numbers of documents which had not hitherto been printed, or which, if printed, had remained unnoticed.

The results thus obtained do not certainly correspond with the popular and current opinions on this much maligned period, and in many of my readers they excited no small amount of wonder. I must honestly say also that this was often my own case during the long years in which I was at work in this field. To place truth, so far as I have been able to arrive at it, before the public, is my sole aim and object: from all other intentions I know myself to be entirely free.

The revolutionary events of the sixteenth century, which worked to the formation of a new epoch, were not enacted solely on ecclesiastical and intellectual ground, but also—possibly even more penetratingly—on economic, judicial, and social areas.

The more deeply, in the course of my studies, I became imbued with this conviction, the more diligently did I seek to discover those particular incidents which had brought about the revolution within the last-named departments, and which had gradually effected the overthrow of that social order of the Middle Ages which had grown out of the belief in the merit of good works—that is to say, works accomplished from love to God.

First and foremost, in this connection, there stood out in strong relief the grim, fateful working—apparent already at the close of the fifteenth century—of the newly introduced, foreign, Pagan-Roman law, which presented a fundamental contrast to the whole Christian-Germanic system of law and economy, to the Christian Socialism of the Middle Ages, to the organic structure of society, and to the close connection

and interpenetration of the different religious, social, and political forces. This contrast must, I saw, be clearly set forth, and above all it must be clearly shown what influence the foreign law had exercised on the development of princely absolutism, the dark bane of all later development of German life—long before the outbreak of the revolutionary movements of the sixteenth century.

The rapid circulation of my work, which has gone through fifteen editions since the spring of 1876, is clear proof of the stirring interest felt generally in the subjects with which the book deals. All these subjects are alike worthy and in need of further treatment. I reiterate, therefore, my earnest desire that my researches may be supplemented—where necessary corrected—by others, and that the questions raised may be investigated more closely wherever it is desirable and worth the trouble. By comparison of the different editions it will be easily seen that it has been my constant endeavour to improve and enrich my work, and to utilise all the latest writings and pamphlets.

The account of the conditions of German national culture at the close of the Middle Ages, which I began in the sixth volume, I purpose finishing in the seventh volume, with the execution of which I am now engaged.

JOHANNES JANSSEN.

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN:
February 24, 1890.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME

INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS OF GERMANY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTION PAGE

A New Period of Intellectual Development begins with the Invention of Printing 1

Simultaneously with this invention Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa comes forward as Church Reformer, and as re-inaugurator of theologico-philosophical, mathematico-physical, and classic studies, 1–6.

Character of the new period of German reform—Connection between the high development of intellectual life and the Church doctrine of the merits of good works, 6–8.

BOOK I

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

CHAPTER

I. The Spread of the Art of Printing 9

Contemporary opinions on the significance of this art—Anthony Koberg at Nuremberg—Germany covered with printing establishments, 9–12.

Germans spread the new art through the whole of Europe—The principal object aimed at by its means—Printing-presses attached to convents—Services of the clergy in the cause of printing, 12–17.

The German book-trade a continuation and development of the traffic in MSS.—System of barter—Diffusion of the German book-trade throughout Europe—The business of the Kobergs—The publisher Franz Birckmann, 17–19.

CHAPTER PAGE

Results of the printing-press—Editions of the Bible—Of the Fathers of the Church and the Schoolmen—Of the classics—German writings for the people, 20–22.

Numerical magnitude of editions of books, 22–24.

II. Elementary Schools and Religious Education of the People 25

Church zeal for popular education—Precepts concerning the duties of children towards their instructors—Teachers must co-operate with the clergy, 25–26.

Large number of elementary schools—Instances of diligent school attendance—Schools for girls—Schools for the nobility—Honourable status of the teacher—Height of teachers' salaries as compared with the then value of money—Christian instruction, 26–31.

Home education—The Christian family, 31–33.

Religious instruction by sermons—Church manuals of instruction for preachers—The high value set on sermons, 34–37.

Increased attendance at sermons; special sermons preached in large and small towns—Even in villages, 37–39.

Large number of books of sermons and other helpful writings for preachers—Contents of sermons, 39–41.

Miscellaneous forms of religious instruction—Pictorial Catechisms—Catechetical instruction—Tables of the Ten Commandments, 42–44.

The oldest German Catechism by Diedrich Coelde—Faith necessary to salvation, 44–45.

Similar catechetical writings: human salvation wholly dependent on the sufferings of Christ—How the Blessed Virgin must be invoked—How to learn to die, 45–49.

Doctrine concerning Saints and indulgences, 49–50.

Manuals for confession, books of devotion and edification, 51–52.

'Confession Book' of Johannes Wolf—Instruction on the Ten Commandments—Doctrine of repentance and justification, 52–53.

Handpostillen and their wide diffusion, 53–55.

Character of all these different books of instruction—Their pure unadulterated doctrine of salvation, 55–56.

German translations of the Bible and their aim—In what manner it is desired by the translators and the ascetic-minded publishers that the Bible should be read in the language of the people—Extensive spread of German Bibles, 56–60.

CHAPTER PAGE

III. Elementary Education and the Older Humanists 61

Schools of 'The Brethren of the Social Life,' and the large attendance they commanded, 61-62.

Patronised by the Popes, 62.

Thomas à Kempis as promoter of Humanistic studies—Character of the older Humanism as opposed to the later Young German school of Humanism, 62-65.

Rudolph Agricola and his labours as Humanist; compared with Petrarch, 65-67.

Alexander Hegius as pedagogue, 67-69.

Other Westphalian pedagogues and the services of the Westphalians in the instruction of youth—Rudolph von Langen—Johannes Murmellius, 69-72.

Flourishing condition of the Rhenish schools—Instruction in Greek—Method of instruction in general—Examples—School discipline—School life, 72-77.

James Wimpheling, 'Germany's teacher'; his many-sided influence—Epoch-making pedagogic writings, 77-79.

Basic principles of the pedagogy of that period, 79-80.

Johann Cochläus at Nuremberg, 80.

Lead of the town schools—Libraries founded by burghers and clergy, 80-82.

Patrons of culture; learned women on the Rhine and in South Germany—Charity Pirkheimer, 82-85.

IV. The Universities and other Centres of Learning . 86

Universities old and new—Their aims—Union of faith and learning—Extracts from foundation charters, 86-89.

The clergy—especially the Popes—support and encourage the universities, 89-90.

Basis of their prosperity—Their status and their international character, 90-93.

The large attendance they commanded, 93-94.

Stirring intellectual life in Germany, excepting in the Mark Brandenburg, 94-96.

The University of Cologne—Representatives of Humanism; Bartholomew of Cologne and Ortwin Gratius, 96-97.

The Carthusian Werner Rolewinck and his work—Intellectual life in the Carthusian house at Cologne, 98-100.

The University of Heidelberg—Its prosperity under the Curator Johann von Dalberg, Bishop of Worms—Dalberg's library, 100-102.

The Humanist Johann Reuchlin and his services to the study of the classics and of the Hebrew language—Reuchlin's relations to the Church, 102-105.

Other Heidelberg scholars, 105–106.
The Rhenish Literary Society; its object and its extensive ramification; epistolary correspondence between the scholars, 106–107
In connection with Heidelberg, the abbot John Trithemius the greatest 'poly-historian' of the century; his magnificent library in the monastery of Sponheim, 108–109.
His activity as a writer; his utterances on the right spirit in science and on the study of the Bible and the Church Fathers; his attitude towards scholarship and the natural sciences, 109–114.
His literary and historical works and the patriotic bias of his studies—His influence on youth, also in regard to classic studies; remarks of his pupil Butzbach on these studies —Butzbach's 'Catalogue of Distinguished Men,' 114–118.
The University of Freiburg in the Breisgau—Ulrich Zasius a pioneer in the reform of jurisprudence—His activity in the field of learning; Erasmus's opinion of him, 118–121.
Gregory Reisch, philosopher, cosmographer, and mathematician; he compiles the first encyclopædia of philosophy; his pupils and their works; Martin Waldseemüller, 121–122.
The University of Basle—The scholar Johannes Heynlin, his many-sided activity, literary and practical; his friends; Wimpheling's opinion of him, 122–125.
Sebastian Brant as professor and publisher in Basle; his conservatism in religious faith, 125–126.
Heynlin's pupil and friend, Geiler von Kaisersberg, and his circle of friends in Strasburg, 126–128.
Wimpheling and Brant found a learned society in Strasburg and make a collection of original documents bearing on the history of the Upper Rhine; other historical labours in Strasburg; Wimpheling's German History and its character; his and Brant's warnings to the German princes and other Imperial Estates, 128–132.
Humanistic studies in Strasburg—Beatus Rhenanus, 133.
Geiler von Kaisersberg's writings—His fearless independence —His work as cathedral preacher, 133–134.
The University of Tübingen and its epoch of splendour—Conrad Summenhart and Gabriel Biel as scholars and political economists—Biel's remarks on the oppression of the people by the princes, 134–136.
The University of Ingolstadt one of the most distinguished of German educational institutions—The Humanist James Locher—Versatile activity of Johann Eck and its importance for learning, 136–138.

The imperial city Nuremberg a centre of culture of the first rank, 138.

Johann Müller, styled Regiomontanus, astronomical and mathematical reformer; his relation to George Peuerbach and his earlier life and work; he lays the foundation of the present system of trigonometry; his researches, discoveries, and scientific achievements in Nuremberg; erects the first astronomical observatory; connects German astronomy with Spanish nautical knowledge; makes possible the discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and others, 139–143.

His pupil Martin Behaim as cosmographer and navigator, 144.

Regiomontanus in Rome, 144–145.

His influence on Nuremberg—Intellectual life there—Johann Walter and Johann Werner—The Humanist Wilibald Pirkheimer, his character and works, 145–148.

Pirkheimer's friend Conrad Peutinger, and his influence on Augsburg—His relations to the Emperor Maximilian—The literary society in Augsburg—Peutinger's historico-antiquarian collections and writings; patronised by the Emperor Maximilian, 148–151.

The Emperor Maximilian as promoter of German scholarship, science and art, especially the study of the history and literature of the Fatherland—What men of learning thought of him, 151–154.

Original literary work of the Emperor; the 'Weisskunig' and the 'Theuerdank,' 155–156.

His relations to scholars and to the University of Vienna, 156–157.

The University of Vienna—Its world-wide renown through its great mathematician Peuerbach and its great astronomer Regiomontanus, who also procured admission there for Humanistic studies—Flourishing epoch of Humanism in Vienna through Conrad Celtes—The latter's character and his activity as publisher and teacher, 157–158.

The 'Academy of Poets' and the learned 'Danube Society'; some distinguished members of this society, 159.

Golden epoch of the university under Maximilian, 159–160.

The Emperor's encouragement of German art, 160.

BOOK II

ART AND POPULAR LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION PAGE

IMPORTANT BEARING OF THE STUDY OF ART ON THE HISTORY OF A NATION—NOTABLY SO AS REGARDS THE GERMAN NATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES . . . 161

Art in the service of God—All branches of art unite in one whole—Monuments which witness to the dignity of German art at the close of the Middle Ages, 161–163.

CHAPTER

I. ARCHITECTURE 164

Architecture as the central point of artistic life—Character of Christian-Germanic art, 164–165.

Corporate character of art, and builders' guilds—Universal brotherhood of German building societies—Gothic architecture, 165–169.

Enthusiasm for building churches in all parts of Germany simultaneous with the impetus to intellectual life—Catalogue of buildings—The buildings testify to the contemporary vigour of Church life, 170–175.

Spirit in which and means by which the churches were built—Examples from Xanten, Frankfort and Ulm, 175–177.

Secular buildings on a level with sacred, 177–178.

II. SCULPTURE AND PAINTING 179

Close connection of these arts with architecture—They enter the service of the Church—The churches become monumental exponents of Biblical history, and also museums open to the people, 179–180.

Sculpture and painting ennoble both private and public life—The streets of the larger towns resemble a great pictorial chronicle, 181.

Distinctly German character of the art creations—The artists as members of the city corporations, 181–182.

The unfolding of art-life exemplified by an account of the services of a wealthy alderman of Frankfort-on-the-Main and the art-activity in a small German town, 182–187.

Sculpture and its different varieties—Gold and silver workers—Masterpieces of art and their destruction—Treasure-lists of different churches, 187–190.

Bronze-workers, especially at Nuremberg—Hans Rosenplüt's account of the latter—The brass-founder Peter Vischer, and his works—The shrine of St. Sebald—The copper-

CHAPTER PAGE

smith Sebastian Lindenast—North German brass-foundries —The art of bell-founding, 190–194.

Sculpture and carving in stone and wood—The sculptor Adam Krafft in Nuremberg—His pictures of the Passion and his *Sacraments-Haus* at Ulm, 194–196.

Dill Riemenschneider in Würzburg and Veit Stoss in Nuremberg and Cracow, 196–198.

Jürgen Syrlin's choir stalls in Ulm—North German sculpture, 198–199.

Painting—Importance of the brothers von Eck in the history of art—The Flemish and Cologne schools—Stephen Lochner—Hans Memling—Martin Schongauer, 199–202.

Character of German painting and its different schools—Schongauer and his pupils—Hans Holbein the younger and Albert Dürer, the greatest artistic geniuses, 202–205.

Dürer's memoirs of his parents, his education and apprenticeship—His versatility—Culminating period of his work—Universality of his influence in art, 205–210.

Glass painting at its zenith — The Dominican James Griesinger founds an art school of his own—Other painters on glass—The most conspicuous works in glass painting, both sacred and secular, 210–213.

Miniature painting—Its principal homes and representatives —Is practised especially in the convents, 213–214.

The art of embroidery comes into existence simultaneously with sculpture and painting—The part played by women in this branch, 214–215.

III. Wood and Copper Engraving 216

The German invention of engraving as important for art and intellectual life as the invention of printing—Different uses of the engraver's art—Bibles for the poor and their significance—Services of the Nuremberg printer Koberg towards the development of wood-cutting, 216–218.

Albert Dürer's great services in the same line—His most important compositions—The two 'Passions' and 'The Life of our Lady,' 218–221.

Copper engraving a German invention—The oldest copper engravers—Martin Schongauer—Dürer—Dürer's most important engravings: 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' 'St. Jerome,' and 'Melancholy,' 222–225.

Dürer's successor, Lucas Cranach—Decay of the art, 225–226.

IV. Popular Life as Reflected by Art 227

Art a faithful mirror of contemporary German life—Humour in art fostered in the churches—Its multifold significance

CHAPTER PAGE

and application — Dürer's marginal drawings in the Emperor Maximilian's prayer-book—Representations of the devil, 227-230.

The follies and vices of the age satirised—Stuck-up peasants ridiculed by art, 230-233.

Scenes from peasant life—Market scenes—Games and merry-makings—Dances, 233-234.

Love of bright and gaudy colours—Headgear—Hair-dressing—Colour of clothes among the lower classes—Dignified dress of the burghers—The German home represented in pictures—German family life, 234-241.

Art in the house—Manual work and art mutually complete and dignify each other, 241.

V. Music 242

High position of music since the middle of the fifteenth century—The Gregorian chant the basis of genuine scientific church music—The art of harmony compared with that of architecture, 242-243.

Simultaneous development of music in South Germany and in the Netherlands—The 'Lochamer Song Book'—Jacob Obrecht († 1507), William Du Fay († 1474) and Johann Ockenheim († about 1515) the pioneers of all the later schools of music—Other renowned sacred composers and their principal works—Josquin de Près—Heinrich Isaak—Louis Senfl—Heinrich Finck—Stephen Mahu, 243-246.

Secular music and its character, 247.

Perfecting of the instruments—The organ—The Germans the most expert organ-builders in Europe—Invention of pedals—The most famous organs and organ-players—Conrad Baumann of Nuremberg, born blind († 1473)—Paul Hofheimer, court-organist to the Emperor Maximilian—Meister Arnold Schlick—Lute-makers and lute-players, 234-251.

Musical theorists—Johann Goodenbach—Johann Färber—Adam von Fulda—Musical culture in schools—Book of musical instruction by Johann Cochläus, 251-252.

VI. Popular Poetry 253

The poetic art decadent, but not the capacity for poetry in the nation—Reason why a new blossoming of poetic art might be counted on—Revival of popular poetry—Its nature and its spread, 253-254.

Folk songs: amorous songs, especially songs of parting—Examples, 254-259.

CHAPTER PAGE

Close connection of German life with nature—Nature songs—Hunting songs—Ballads, 259

Romances: Historical and political songs—Songs against the lawyers and the Jews—Freebooting songs—General love of song, and the reason thereof, 260–263.

Sacred songs and church hymns, their gradual development since the twelfth century—Lyric poetry an essentially German art—Patrons of sacred poetry—The fifteenth century the most fruitful in church hymns—Collections of hymns and books of song—Martin Luther's testimony, 264–265.

Erhard Oeglin's hymns for four voices, 266–267.

Christmas carols, 267–268.

The German hymns sung by the people not part of the liturgy proper, 268–269.

The sacred drama, its origin and development—Various groups of them—Easter plays—The 'Rise and Fall of Antichrist,' 269–274.

The Mystery Plays Germanised—Their performance taken very seriously by both the actors and the onlookers—The representations often lasted several days—The Corpus Christi festival, 274–276.

Scenic apparatus—Symbolic attributes—Their connection with the subjects of the plastic arts—Introduction of the devil—Satirical and comic elements—No elements of hostility to the Church in them, 278–282.

Carnival plays, especially in Nuremberg, 282 283.

Latin comedies—Decay of German dramatic art, 283.

VII. Topical Poetry 284

Nature and worth of this poetry—Didactic poetry—Poems against the licentious nobles—Against the manœuvring of courtiers—Against the princes and other covetous personages—Against the clergy—The 'Welshgattung'—'Reineke Vos,' 284–288.

Sebastian Brant's 'Narrenschiff' and its universal significance—No mere satire, but a deeply religious poem, 289 290.

VIII. Prose and Popular Reading 291

The prose of a nation as characteristic of its culture as the poetry, 291.

Gradual development of German prose—Its blossoming period in the fifteenth century—Narrative prose—German history-writing and its best representatives—Popular history-writing in Nuremberg—The Cologne Chronicle—

CHAPTER PAGE

Austrian chronicle of Jacob Unrest—Universal character of the German chronicles—Their patriotic spirit, 291–298.

The wide circulation of popular books—Which of them were most liked—Popular humour—King Solomon and Marcolph —Till Eulenspiegel, 298–300.

Descriptions of travel—Tales of pilgrimages—'The Pilgrimage of the Knight Arnold Harff to the Holy Land'—The book of travel by the Chamberlain Bernhard von Breienbach —A remarkable passage in the dedicatory preface, 300–302.

Translations of works of fiction—Abundance of material for narrative brought by the Crusaders—Collections of fables —Instructive prose, 302–304.

Philosophic prose-writings—Geiler von Kaisersberg, 304–305.

A general German language, 'gemeines Deutsch,' of state and diplomacy—Luther on 'gemeines Deutsch'—High-water mark of prose in the fifteenth century, 305–306.

BOOK III

POLITICAL ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

CONNECTION AND INTERPENETRATION BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE—DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC INDUSTRY—THEIR MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE . . . 307

CHAPTER

I. AGRICULTURAL LIFE 309

Possession, division and cultivation of land—The estates of the nobles and peasant proprietors, 309–311.

Landlords and tenants—Serfdom almost universally abolished towards the middle of the fifteenth century—Hereditary tenancy—Rights and duties of landlords and tenants—The 'Weisthümer' ('Oracles and Manor Rights'), 311–314.

Taxes and feudal services—Money and service rents, and how they were raised, 315–320.

Numerous kinds of peasant settlements—One feature common to them all—The Almende—Serfs as well as freemen shared in the Almende (common land)—Allowances, or 'friendly offerings'—Determining the boundaries, 321 324.

Different methods of house-building of the Franconian, Suabian, and Saxon peasants, 324–326.

Different methods of farming the land—Forest regulations and management, 326–328.

A picture of peasant life from Engelmann's report—Prayer and labour, 326–337.

PAGE

Landed property within and belonging to cities—Garden-culture within and around cities—The 'Book of Fruits, Trees, and Roots'—Extensive cultivation of the vine—Large consumption of wine—The 'Book of Fruit and Grain'—Bee culture, 339 342.

Agricultural literature—Examples of the general agricultural conditions of the period—The Rheingau and Pomerania, 342 346.

Well-to-do condition of the peasantry in the different districts of Germany—Costly clothing of the peasants—Peasant fare, 346-348.

Favourable condition of agricultural labourers and domestic servants—Evidence from different countries concerning labour wages in relation to the prices of necessary commodities—Meat the customary daily food of the common people—Wages and cost of servants—Compulsory domestic service, 348-354.

INDEX OF PLACES 355

INDEX OF PERSONS 363

Errata

Page	13	(*n.* 2)	*for*	Petricci	*read*	Petrucci
,,	30	(*n.* 2)	,,	Platt	,,	Platter
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,,	315,	,, 4[b]	,,	Tischingen	,,	Fischingen
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HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTION

TOWARDS the middle of the fifteenth century the intellectual life of the German people, as indeed that of all Christendom, entered a new period of development through Johann Gutenberg's invention of the printing-press and the use of movable type.

This invention, the mightiest and most important in the history of civilisation, gave as it were 'wings to the human mind,' and supplied the best means of preserving, multiplying, and disseminating every product of the intellect. It sharpened and stimulated thought by facilitating its interchange; it encouraged and extended literary traffic in a hitherto undreamt-of manner, and made science and art accessible to all classes of society. In the words of a contemporary of Gutenberg's, 'it furnished a mighty, double-edged sword for the freedom of mankind; one, however, which could strike alike for good or for evil—for truth and virtue, for sin and error.'

For the German nation this invention was coincident with the life and labours of a man who, as an ecclesiastical reformer and a professor of theology, classics, and mathematics, no less than as a statesman, stands out as an intellectual giant in the background of the Middle Ages. This man was the German Cardinal, Nicholas Krebs, styled Cusanus, from Cues, near Treves.

The ecclesiastical reforms begun by Nicholas in Germany in 1451 by command of the Pope were based on the principles that one should cleanse and regenerate, not trample down and destroy; and that it was not for man to remodel things divine, but, rather, to be remodelled by them. And, true to this last principle, he was first and foremost the reformer of his own person; his life was to his contemporaries a very mirror of all priestly virtue. He preached both to the clergy and to the people, and what he preached, that he practised; his actions were, in fact, his most powerful sermons. Simple and unostentatious, indefatigable in teaching, correcting, consoling, and strengthening—a father to the poor—he travelled for years long as apostle and reformer throughout the length and breadth of Germany. He revived ecclesiastical discipline, long sunk in hopeless confusion. He did his utmost towards recovering the neglected education of the clergy, as well as the catechetical instruction of the people. He watched carefully over the office of the pulpit, and preached with unrelenting severity against prevailing grievous abuses. In Salzburg, Magdeburg, Mayence, and Cologne he held provincial councils; and by re-establishing synods, as well as by his regulations for the inspection of monasteries, he inaugurated permanent reforms in ecclesiastical matters. His plan of 'general reform,' drawn up

for Pope Pius II., shows more clearly than any of his writings how deeply he deplored the existing evils, and how zealously he worked to accomplish a thorough reform in the whole Church, from the Papal See down to the humblest monastery, without, however, in the least impairing the unity of its structure.

'Nicholas of Cusa,' says the abbot Trithemius at the end of the century, 'appeared in Germany like an angel of light and peace in the midst of darkness and confusion; he re-established the unity of the Church, strengthened the authority of its visible head, and scattered abundant seeds of new life. Some of that seed, through the hardness of men's hearts, did not spring up; some did grow up, but, through sloth and indifference, soon withered away; a goodly portion, however, flourished and bore fruit, which we to-day are still enjoying. He was a man of faith and love, an apostle of piety and of learning. His spirit compassed all fields of human wisdom, but "God" was the starting-point of all his knowledge—the glory of God and the bettering of mankind the beginning and the end of all his wisdom.'

'To know and to think,' writes Nicholas himself, 'to see the truth with the eye of the mind, is always a joy. The older a man grows the greater is the pleasure which it affords him, and the more he devotes himself to the search after truth the stronger grows his desire of possessing it. As love is the life of the heart, so is the endeavour after knowledge and truth the life of the mind. In the midst of the movements of time, of the daily work of life, of its perplexities and contradictions, we should lift our gaze fearlessly to the clear vault of heaven, and seek ever to obtain a firmer grasp of and a keener insight into the origin

of all goodness and beauty, the capacities of our own hearts and minds, the intellectual fruits of mankind throughout the centuries, and the wondrous works of Nature around us; at the same time remembering always that in humility alone lies true greatness, and that knowledge and wisdom are alone profitable in so far as our lives are governed by them.'

The actual field of his labours was speculative science, and his special work in it the reform of ecclesiastical learning. In his system of theology he brought into harmony a variety of conflicting tenets which had hitherto been fiercely battled over in the camps of the Schoolmen. For its originality and depth of thought, its clearness of detail, its breadth of conception, and its organic unity, this work may be compared to the great monuments of German Christian architecture of the period. He inaugurated a better understanding of the great masters of the old Schools, raised Mysticism from the dark abyss of Pantheism to the more clearly defined conception of 'God and the universe,' and opened the way for a more scientific handling of the whole teaching of Christian faith. But it is in the well-known tractate in which he pleads for the casting aside of all religious strife, for the establishment of one common creed, and the gathering together of all mankind under the one Catholic Church of Rome, that the spirit of the Cardinal, at once so truly philosophical and so deeply imbued with genuine Christian love of humanity, reveals itself most characteristically.

In the same spirit of creative activity Nicholas devoted himself to natural science, more especially to physics and mathematics. *He* first, nearly a

century before Copernicus, had the courage and independence to uphold the theory of the earth's motion and its rotation on its axis. He published an able treatise on the correction of the Julian Calendar, and he headed the list of those astronomers who were the pioneers of modern knowledge of the solar system and its workings. It was personal and literary intercourse with him that awakened the creative genius of Georg von Peuerbach and Johann Müller, the two restorers of the direct and independent method of natural research, and the fathers of astronomical observation and calculation.

Nicholas of Cusa was also one of the first in Germany to revive the thorough and enlightened study of those master works of classic antiquity which unite in such perfect harmony the freedom of Nature with the restraints of Art. His love for the classics, which he had devoured eagerly at Deventer in the schools of the 'Brethren of the Social Life,' was raised to such enthusiasm in Italy by an exhaustive study of Plato and Aristotle that he could not rest without doing his utmost to kindle a like zeal in others. He was unwearied in his efforts to bring these studies back into vogue wherever he could, utilising them as means of true culture and as evidences of the sublimity of the Christian faith.

He met all seekers after knowledge with winning condescension and cordiality, and, although overwhelmed with the duties of his office, was ever ready to explain and instruct. In the very year in which his useful and laborious life closed (in 1464), the Cardinal, so we learn from Trithemius, had intended, with the aid of Gutenberg's invention, to convert into the common

property of the world of scholars a precious collection of Greek MSS. which he had brought from Constantinople.

Among the students in whose classical education he had so gladly shared, Rudolph Agricola was the one who laboured most fruitfully in his master's footsteps.

After a long period of intellectual torpor a new era of healthy and joyous development had now begun in Germany. The thirst for education was felt by all classes, and no exertion was spared to raise the standard of the schools; new ones were established and old ones were improved.

The countless number of gymnasia, and the many universities founded at this period, show how deeply the want of education was felt throughout the land. Artistic development kept pace with scientific progress. The new intellectual movement called forth apostles of every age and every condition of life, 'who,' to quote the words of Wimpheling, 'in their journeyings from province to province, from land to land, spread the glad tidings of the blessings of science and of art.'

Intellectual progress, on a firm basis of Christian belief and from an ecclesiastical standpoint, forms the most prominent characteristic of the period which extended from the middle of the fifteenth century to the rise of the German Humanists. It was one of the most fruitful intellectual epochs of German history.

Almost inexhaustible seemed the wealth of great and noble and strongly marked individualities who, in their schoolrooms and lecture-halls, as well as in the seclusion of their studies, imparted to learning and to art the leaven of spiritual life—teachers with whom 'the fear of the Lord was the beginning of wisdom,'

humble, believing Christians, and at the same time free, strong, independent, manly thinkers. Above all, they showed themselves undaunted in unmasking and fighting against ecclesiastical abuses. Their love for the one Catholic Church spurred them to carry on unflinchingly the work of reform which Nicholas of Cusa had inaugurated in Germany.

Their love for the Church increased and elevated their loyalty to the people and the Fatherland and their enthusiasm for the Roman Emperor of the German nation. As upholders of 'the sovereignty of the Roman Emperor,' they set themselves strongly against the separatist independent spirit of the different principalities. They wished for the re-establishment of the ancient unity of the Empire, but they were at the same time anxious to see their respective States well represented in the general march of progress. As Germans under the Emperor and the Empire, they felt themselves distinct from other nations; but under the sovereignty and protection of the Catholic Church this sense of separateness had not led to anything like political or racial enmity with other nations, but simply to a feeling of spiritual exclusiveness.

The brisk intercourse that went on between the Schoolmen, the scientists, and artists of Germany and those of other countries was a powerful agent in the furtherance of culture and learning. The character of the 'high schools' was essentially international. Culture was not a barrier, but a bond between nations.

All Christian nations had one enemy in common—the Turk—'the hereditary foe of Christianity.' To make joint cause against him under the leadership of the head of the Church was, in the eyes of all the

foremost men of the day, one of the highest of Christian duties.

The wonderful development of spiritual and intellectual life that characterised this period was only possible in view of the fact that all minds were still influenced by the Church doctrine of 'salvation by good works.' This teaching resulted, on the one hand, in innumerable charitable bequests, in the founding of hospitals, asylums, and orphanages, as well as in the building of churches and cathedrals adorned with all that was most beautiful in art; while it also prompted the establishment of higher and lower educational institutions, and the liberal endowment of them.

BOOK I

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

CHAPTER I

THE SPREAD OF THE ART OF PRINTING[1]

'THERE is no invention or intellectual achievement of which we Germans have so much reason to be proud as that of printing, which made us as it were new apostles of Christianity, disseminators of all knowledge, human and divine, and benefactors of all mankind. What new life it opened to all classes! Who will ever think without gratitude of the first founders and promoters of the art, even though he should not, like our-

[1] Van der Linde's learned work on Gutenberg (1878) gives a clear account of the history of the invention of printing, and removes countless errors, legends, and falsifications which have appeared in earlier writings. Johann Gensfleisch zu Gutenberg, of Mayence, was not so much the inventor of printing as of typography—*i.e.* the formation of cast movable letters. Centuries before Gutenberg the art was already known of transferring figures, pictures, and text from one surface to another by means of pressure. Ancient xylographic productions are preserved in our museums. It was no new idea that letters—hence also words, lines, sentences, and whole pages—could be engraved and printed. The Chinese block- and type-printing goes back as far as the tenth century. It was probably from the Mongolians, who conquered China in the thirteenth century, and soon after overflowed into Eastern Europe, that the Europeans acquired the art of block-printing, or xylography. About the year 1400 this art spread from Germany to Flanders. That the origin of so many innovations belonging to the Middle Ages (gunpowder, linen-paper, wood-printing, printing on stuff, enlarged or amplified Asiatic chess-games) is shrouded in darkness may be accounted for by the fact that these inventions did not spring up independently in Europe, but came there through

selves and our teachers, have enjoyed the privilege of personal intercourse with them ?'

'The art of printing is the art of arts,[1] the science of sciences. Through its rapid spread the world has been enriched with treasures of knowledge and wisdom that till now have lain hidden. Innumerable books,

Arabs and Mongolians. The first known date of a wood-cut is the year 1423. They did not, however, only print with wooden blocks at that time, but engraved their designs in metal. A leaf out of a series of engravings of the Passion bears the date of 1446. An exquisite copper engraving of the Master P bears the date of 1451. 'There was indeed no call for anyone to invent printing in the fifteenth century.' The '*Pyldtschnitzers*,' wood-cutters, and engravers formed, together with the printers, a guild of their own: in Nordlingen, for instance, as early as 1428, and in Ulm in 1441. The importance of Gutenberg's invention did not lie in the discovery of movable type (even in ancient Roman times movable letters were used; see Van der Linde, pp. 113–120), but in the efficient method of manufacturing metal types of a uniform size. The letters were first of all cut in the form of embossed dies or punches, then from these punches were formed matrices or moulds from which the types were cast. Besides the movableness of the single letters and their combination into words, the production of letters in great numbers was necessary, in order to substitute for the costly process of cutting each letter separately the cheapness and uniformity derived from casting a number of types from a single mould. What the special point was that the inventor himself laid stress on we learn from the appendix to the *Catholicon* of the year 1460: 'Under the guidance of the Almighty, who often reveals to the lowly-minded what He hides from the wise, this excellent book, *Catholicon*, was printed and completed in the good town of Mayence in the year of our Lord 1460; its exquisite finish and accuracy are due to its being executed by means of dies and matrices, not with reed, stylus, or pen.'

[1] So writes James Wimpheling in *De Arte impressoria*, fol. 2. This treatise on intellectual conditions (a valuable addition to the history of civilisation), rendered accessible in 1864 by the kindness of Father Jandel, General of the Dominicans in S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, was composed in 1507 by Wimpheling for a Roman cardinal whose name is not disclosed. The title *De Arte impressoria* was given to it at a later period, on account of its beginning with a panegyric on the art of printing, and its treating of the spread of printing over Europe. It contains twenty-nine quarto sheets of parchment, and is as beautifully written (possibly by the same hand) as the account of the history of Mayence, to be seen at the castle of Aschaffenburg, which was executed by Wimpheling for the Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg.

formerly accessible to but a few scholars in Athens or Paris, or in other universities and libraries, will now, by means of the printing-press, become known to all nations and peoples, and be circulated in every tongue.'[1] 'What a wealth of prayers and meditations shall be born of printed books! What a store of sermons shall become familiar to the people! What an advantage to those who are writing or editing books! For those who love art and literature, this is indeed a blessed and happy time, in which they can plant in the field of their understanding such precious seed, and fire their imaginations from such burning sources.'

'Those, also, who have no natural love for literary work are to be congratulated on being able to learn in a short time what formerly required the study of years.'[2] Such are some of the utterances of contemporary writers on the newly discovered art.

As early as the year 1507, James Wimpheling draws attention to the fact that nothing can give so good an idea of the activity and many-sidedness of German intellectual life at that period as the consideration of the rapid diffusion of the art of printing, which not only converted all the towns of Germany, great and small, into intellectual workshops, but also, by means of German printers, established itself in the course of a few years in Italy, France, Spain, and even in the far North.

When, after the conquest of Mayence by the Archbishop Adolphus of Nassau in 1462, the 'wonderful

[1] See *Fasciculus Temporum*, fol. 89, a work of the Carthusian monk Werner Rolewinck.

[2] *The Chronicles of Koelhoff*, published by Cardauns in the *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, xiv. 792–794.

secret' had become known throughout Europe, it spread with such astounding rapidity that more than a thousand printers, mostly of German origin,[1] are known to have flourished before the year 1500. In Mayence itself, the cradle of the art, there were no less than five printing-presses, in Ulm six, in Basle sixteen, in Augsburg twenty,[2] in Cologne twenty-one. Strasburg was renowned for its many excellent printers. In Nuremberg, up to the year 1500, twenty-five printers were enrolled as citizens.[3] The most eminent of these after the year 1470 was Anthony Koberger, who had twenty-four presses at work, employed over a hundred men as type-setters, proof-correctors, printers, binders and illuminators, besides carrying on work outside, chiefly in Basle, Strasburg, and Lyons. 'By diligence and foresight,' writes his countryman Neudoerffer, 'Koberger accumulated a large fortune.' The gigantic aqueduct still in existence, hewn out of the rock, and reaching from the city moat to his house in the Aegidienplatz, is a witness to the scale of his printing establishment.[4] Enterprise of almost equal dimensions was developed by Hans Schönsperger in Augsburg, as well as by the Basle publishers, Johann Amerbach, Wolfgang Lachner, and Johann Froben. The latter, designated as 'the prince of publishers,' ranks among

[1] See *Falkenstein's Catalogue*, pp. 383–393; Reichardt, 25–35.

[2] Schaab, iii. 421–423; K. D. Hassler, *Die Buchdruckergeschichte Ulms* (Ulm, 1840); Grässe, iii[a]. 157–163; Ennen, iii. 1034–1043. For the printed works, see Faulmann, pp. 197–253.

[3] Baader, in the *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, vii. 119, 120.

[4] See Hase's remarkably instructive work, *Die Koberger*, 4 ff., especially in the second fully revised edition; Faulmann, pp. 178–194; Kapp, pp. 139–141. Zainer owned a printing house in Bologna in the year 1481. In the year 1483, Erhard Ratdolt published in Venice a German *Explanation of the Ten Commandments*.

the most accomplished printers whom the world has yet known.[1] Numbers of the ablest men devoted their energies to the perfecting of this new art. So early as 1471 Conrad Schweinheim began printing atlases from metal plates. In the year 1482 Erhard Ratdolt made the first attempt to multiply mathematical and architectural drawings by means of the printing-press. Erhard Oeglin inaugurated the printing of musical notes with movable types.[2]

While Germany was thus alive with new and joyous creative industry, German printers were spreading the new art as far as Subiaco and Rome, Sienna, Venice, Foligno, Perugia, Modena, Urbino, Ascoli, Naples, Messina, and Palermo. Up to the end of the fifteenth century, Rome alone counted no fewer than one hundred and ninety presses and twenty-three German printers; while throughout Italy generally there were over a hundred German printing establishments. It is to a German printer of Foligno, Johann Neumeister, from Mayence, that Italy owes the first edition of Dante's 'Divine Comedy,' published in the year 1472; and it was a German also who printed the first edition with a commentary, which appeared in the year 1481.[3]

Thanks to German printers, the spread of typography was almost as rapid in France and Spain as in Italy. In Spain up to the year 1500 there were over thirty

[1] Stockmeyer and Reber, pp. 86–115. The works which were issued from the establishment of Johannes Winterburger between 1492 and 1519 compare well with those of Basle, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. See A. Mayer's *History of Printing*, 1482–1882 (Vienna, 1882).

[2] Independently of the discovery of Ottaviano dei Petricci. See Ambros, pp. 190–199 of Oeglin. See Herberger, pp. 41–42.

[3] See V. Reumont, ii. 48; Faulmann, p. 179. German writers and illustrators of books were also settled in Italy in great numbers from the middle of the fifteenth century.

German master-printers, who in Valencia, Saragossa, Seville, Barcelona, Tolosa, Salamanca, Burgos, and other cities, were, according to Lopez de Vega, 'the armourers of civilisation.' Christopher Columbus belonged for a time to the printing trade. In Granada, only two years after the province had been freed from the Arabian yoke, and while it was still partly peopled with Arabs, the Nuremberg physician, Jerome Münzer, travelling across the Pyrenean peninsula about 1494–95 met with three printers from Strasburg, Spires, and Gerleshofen. Two others from Strasburg and from Nordlingen established themselves in the unhealthy island of St. Thomas.

Valentin Ferdinand, one of the many German printers settled in Portugal, was in the year 1502 appointed shield-bearer to Queen Leonora; and by decree of John II. all the other printers in the country were invested with the privileges of nobles attached to the royal household. In 1516, by order of the King, Don Immanuel, the German printer Herman von Kempen, published in Lisbon 'The Cancioneiro' of Garcia de Resende, a comprehensive collection of songs of the Court school of poets, of fundamental importance for the history of Portuguese literature.

The 'German art' was established in Buda-Pesth in the year 1473, in London in 1477, in Oxford in 1478, in Denmark in 1482, in Stockholm in 1483, in Moravia in 1486, and in Constantinople in 1490.[1]

'As the apostles of Christianity went forth of old,'

[1] For the services of the Westphalians in the spread of printing, see Nordhoff's *Humanismus*, pp. 129–133. According to the latest researches, it appears to be established that the Cologne printers were the founders of the art in England and Holland.

says Wimpheling, 'so now the disciples of the sacred art go forth from Germany into all lands, and their printed books become heralds of the Gospel, preachers of truth and wisdom.' [1]

Adolphus Occo, house-physician to Frederic, bishop of Augsburg, writes as follows to the printer Ratdolt in 1487: 'It would be difficult to estimate how deeply all classes of society are indebted to the art of printing, which, through the mercy of God, has arisen in our time; and more especially is this the case with the Catholic Church, the bride of Christ, which through it receives additional glory, and meets her Bridegroom with the new adornment of the many books of heavenly wisdom with which it has furnished her.'

All the nobler minds of the age were anxious that this new art should not be regarded merely as an instrument for furthering personal profit, but as a fresh means of Christian evangelisation, so that, above all, good should accrue to the Church's faith, and true wisdom and culture be advanced. Thus 'The Brothers of the Social Life' at Rostock, in one of their first publications, in the year 1476, speak of it as 'the teacher of all arts for the glory of the Church'; and they designated themselves, in view of their labour as printers, 'priests who preached, not by the spoken, but by the written word.' It was this same feeling which actuated bishops, such as Rudolph von Scherenberg and Lorenz von Bibra, to distribute indulgences for the purchase and spread of books.

This view of the mission of the new discovery made the most enlightened among the clergy become its most zealous protectors.

[1] *De Arte impressoria*, fol. 6.

In very many places printing establishments were attached to monasteries—at Marienthal, in the Rheingau, for instance, after 1468. In 1470 we find one opened by the Argovian regular canons of Beromünster; in 1472, another in the Benedictine monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg; in 1474, one by the Benedictines of Bamberg; in 1475, one in Blaubeuren; in 1478, one by the Premonstratensian monks; in 1479, still others by the Augustinian hermits of Nuremberg and the Benedictines of St. Peter in Erfurt.[1]

The Carthusians and the Minorites were the most active assistants of John Amerbach in Basle. The great German scholastic, Johannes Heynlin of Stein, in the bishopric of Spires, brought the first printers, called the 'Allimanic brothers,' to Paris, and gave them every assistance in their work.[2] A professor of theology, Andreas Frisner, was the first printer in Leipsic; and

[1] See the accurate work by Falk, *Druckkunst*, pp. 3 9, on the printing in the convents of Germany. See also Van der Linde, pp. 95–97. The literary activity of the monks was awakened to new life towards the middle of the fifteenth century—that is, at the time of the invention of typography, and coincidently with the efforts for reform that were connected with the Council of Basle. No wonder, then, that the monks quickly availed themselves of the new means for multiplying books, and, under the guidance of wise abbots, erected presses within their monasteries. The friendly relations which existed between the clergy and the printers made this the easier. Thus also, as Schafarik has pointed out, we owe all the old Slavonic, especially the Cyrillic, printed works to Serbian or Bulgarian monks and priests. At Cettinje, in Montenegro, there was a monastic printing-press in 1493. Works have been preserved from the convent of St. Bridget in Wadstena, Sweden, bearing the date of 1491. At the convent of the Dominican sisters in Florence more than eighty-six works were published between 1476 and 1484.

[2] Vischer, p. 161. Johannes Heynlin himself gives the place of his birth. See Jul. Phillipe, *Origine de l'Imprimerie à Paris d'après des Documents inédits* (Paris, 1885), p. 14. Concerning Ulrich Gering, the first German printer in Paris, see Aebi, *Die Buchdruckerei in Beromünster*, pp. 32–36.

it was owing to Paul Scriptoris, lecturer in the Franciscan convent at Tübingen, that in the year 1478 Johann Otmar established the first press in that city. In Italy the German printers, Conrad Schweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, found their first home in the Benedictine convent of Subiaco; later on, in Rome, they brought out their works under the patronage of the bishop Giovanni Andrea, who had been appointed librarian by Pope Sixtus IV. In 1466 the famous Dominican Cardinal, Turrecremata, sent for the printer Ulrich Hahn from Ingolstadt to Rome; three years later George Lauer, of Wurtzburg, was summoned there by Cardinal Caraffa, and both these had for their patrons the well-known papal biographers Campano and Platina. In 1475 there were as many as twenty printing-presses in Rome, the produce of which by the end of the century amounted to 925 works, which were chiefly owing to the exertions of the clergy.

But the clergy were not content with giving nominal patronage and co-operation to the new art; they also contributed material help by the purchase of its productions.[1]

Nearly the whole immense book supply of the fifteenth century in Germany aimed chiefly at satisfying the needs of the clergy, and only by their active participation was it possible for its influence to spread simultaneously and in all directions throughout the entire population.

[1] Falk, *Druckkunst*, pp. 8–25. This work gives a brilliant list of witnesses for the helpful and encouraging attitude of the clergy towards the art of printing. Hase and the Kobergers acknowledge that the clergy were among the foremost of their patrons. The cry that the clergy had opposed printing was as groundless as the flight of the imagination of the poet of the jubilee year 1840, who said that Gutenberg had lighted a torch and thrown it into the world while the priests would have extinguished it.

This German book trade was a continuation and a development of the trade in manuscripts, which had already grown to large and extensive business proportions in Germany, where there was so great a demand for books long before the invention of printing. More especially in the large trading towns and in the free imperial cities the work of copyists had developed into a regular industry, which aimed more at supplying the universal wants of the people than those of scholars. Regular catalogues were made out, and the works were disposed of by travelling pedlars, who found ready sale for them at the annual fairs.

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find one of these pedlars, named Diepold Lauber, opening at Hagenau a shop well supplied not only with Latin books but with the best of the High-German literature, with epic poems, legends, prose works, versified Bibles, Lives of the Saints, prayer and meditation books. The catalogue of these writings shows that during the Middle Ages books were not confined to the rich and learned in Germany.

After the invention of printing the trade in books continued on the same lines as that in manuscripts, and developed so rapidly that towards the close of the century it had covered nearly all civilised Europe. Many of the customs and technicalities still in use in the trade date from that period.

Frankfort-on-the-Main was the centre of the world's book trade. The dealers met together at the annual fairs and festivals, when they formed business associations, made their purchases, and did everything to perfect the method of their trade.

In the early days of the trade the printers trafficked with one another on the system of exchange, the first

traces of which are found in the year 1474 in the printing establishment of the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, and in that of 'The Brethren of the Social Life' in Rostock—one of the oldest printing houses in Northern Germany. Their trade was not confined to the volumes which they themselves produced; they received also for sale books printed elsewhere. Their business extended over the districts of Lübeck and Schleswig, and even to Denmark.

Gutenberg's partner, Peter Schöffer, had developed a printing business in Paris which was valued in 1475 at 2,425 golden thalers, a large sum for that period.

The joint establishment founded by the Kobergers of Nuremberg at the same time was already in full swing by the year 1500. In the South of France, Lyons was the centre of this book-traffic; three hundred copies of a single work were sent there on one occasion. The produce of this firm had also an extensive sale in Hungary, in the Netherlands, and in Italy, especially at Venice. 'Koberger,' says Neudörfer, 'has agents in every country, and in the principal cities he has as many as sixteen shops and stores. His business extends into Poland; and he manages his affairs so well that he is at all times cognizant of the condition of each branch, and able to supply the wants of one shop from the superfluous stock of another.' The magnitude of his business may be estimated by the fact that over two hundred works—mostly thick volumes in large folio—belonging to the period before 1500 may be reckoned as the produce of his press. He also carried on a brisk competition with the flourishing Basle firm of Froben and Lachner in the sale of classic publications from the Italian press.

'At this very moment,' writes a scholar of Basle to a friend, 'Wolfgang Lachner, the father-in-law of our Froben, is having a whole waggon-load of classics of the best Aldine editions brought over from Venice. Do you wish for any of them? If so, tell me immediately, and send the money, for no sooner is such a freight landed than thirty buyers start up for each volume, merely asking what's the price, and tearing each other's eyes out to get hold of them.'

Among the foremost publishers of the time was Franz Birckmann, of Cologne, who did more than any others to promote the circulation of the intellectual products of Italy, France, and the Netherlands. With England especially his trade was so extensive that Erasmus writes from Canterbury in 1510: 'Birckmann manages all the book traffic of this place.' [1]

The activity in the book trade was not confined to the large cities only. In the smaller ones, also, much stirring life went on in this direction. John Rynmann, of Oehringen, for instance, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, carried on large dealings both with foreign countries and with the upper and lower provinces of the Empire. Later on this same Rynmann removed to Augsburg, where he enlarged his business so as to include all branches of learning. Twelve other booksellers besides himself were also established in this city.

From evidence of this sort we can form some idea of

[1] Kirschoff, i. 92–120; Kapp, pp. 101–104. There were issued from the firm of Richard Paffraed, of Cologne, over 260 works between 1477 and 1500. James von Breda, of Deventer, published about 210 works between 1483 and 1500; the ancient classics taking a prominent place in the list. See Campbell, *Annales de la Typographie nëërland. au XV^me siècle* (La Haye, 1874).

the immense extent of the book trade in Germany at the end of the Middle Ages.

'We Germans,' writes Wimpheling in 1507, 'practically control the whole intellectual market of civilised Europe; the books, however, which we bring to this market are for the most part high-class works tending to the honour of God, the salvation of souls, and the civilisation of the people.' [1]

Highest among these works in Germany stood the holiest of all printed books, the Bible. During the whole of this century it well-nigh monopolised most of the printing-presses of the West. Up to 1500 the Vulgate had gone through nearly one hundred editions. The first piece of real artistic work in the way of book-binding from Koberger's press was the exquisite German Bible of 1483, illustrated by Michael Wolgemurt with over one hundred woodcuts. This remarkable version of the entire collection of the Holy Scriptures, the clearest and most correct which had yet appeared in German, with excellent historical illustrations, obtained a wider circulation and had greater influence than any of the other ante-Lutheran Bibles. In addition to this version, fifteen others were issued by the same house before the close of the century, and nine by the house of Amerbach, of Basle, between 1479 and 1489.

Next to the Bible, the leading publishers of the day, themselves as a rule highly educated men and personal conductors of important literary enterprises, turned their attention to bringing out worthy editions of the Fathers of the Church and the old Schoolmen, as also of the works of contemporary philosophers and

[1] *De Arte impressoria*, p. 12.

theologians, and they were most particular with regard to faultless printing, beautiful type, and good paper. The productions of Koberger, Amerbach, Froben, Schönsperger, Rynmann, and others will bear witness to this. Many of the publications of the first century after the invention of printing have been preserved to this day as masterpieces of the typographical art, and can no longer be equalled in beauty.

Johann von Olpe's printed editions of the works of Sebastian Brant, Reuchlin, and other German Humanists, are notable instances of clear and faultless type and beautiful get-up. The accompanying woodcuts, also, are for the most part real models of German art. The book-dealers, indeed, gave great encouragement to pictorial art by their demand for illustrations.[1]

Nearly all the great publishers carried on business from real love of truth and learning, and not only with a view to pecuniary gain. They worked with genuine enthusiasm, and made real sacrifices for the perfecting of their art.

The new invention was also used in the service of the ancient classics, as well as of ecclesiastical learning and literature. Besides many other printers already mentioned, the learned Gottfried Hittorp, of Cologne, and the brothers Leonard and Lucas Alantsee, of Vienna, earned lasting tributes of gratitude in the above respect.

Publications for the people, chiefly the work of the clergy, appeared in large numbers: prayer-books, catechisms, manuals of confession, books of homilies,

[1] See W. von Seidlitz, 'The printed illustrated prayer-books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Germany' in the Year-book in the *Royal Prussian Art Collections*, vols. v. and vi. (Berlin: 1884, 1885).

collections of sacred and secular song, wall-calendars, and also a number of popular works on natural science and medicine.

The collections of German writings of the fifteenth century which are still extant give an extremely favourable impression of the culture of the period, and show how greatly the habit of reading prevailed among all classes.

'In the district of Utrecht alone,' writes the truly Catholic reformer, Johannes Busch, concerning the spread of German books in the Netherlands, 'there are more than one hundred free associations of nuns and sisters possessing large collections of German books, which are used daily either for private or for community reading. The men and women all round this neighbourhood,' he continues, 'from the highest to the lowest, have numbers of German books which they read and study. In Zütphen, Zwolle, and Deventer, as indeed in all the towns and villages, German books are much read.'

Those books naturally which had the largest sale and widest circulation were oftenest reproduced. We can therefore judge of the importance attributed by contemporaries to any particular works, and of the influence of such works, by the measure of their reproduction; and it is no insignificant fact towards a right understanding of the times that the Bible reached more than one hundred editions, that a theological work by Johannes Heynlin, of Spires, reached twenty editions between 1488 and 1500, the works of Wimpheling thirty editions in twenty-five years, and the 'Imitation of Christ,' translated into different languages, no fewer than fifty-nine editions up to the year 1500. There

still exist at the present day samples of ten different editions of a collection of German proverbs.

Of the number of copies issued in the different editions we can form only an approximate idea. From two passages from Wimpheling's works we gather that this edition consisted of 1,000 copies. The edition of Johann Cochläus' 'Latin Grammar,' printed in 1511, contained 1,000 copies, as also those of Pfefferkorn's 'Handspiegel' ('Hand-mirror') and Jacob Locher's 'Fulgentius,' which appeared at the same time.[1]

Thus we may conclude that 1,000 was the usual number at that time, while the measure of reproduction was twenty, thirty, or even sixty editions. Devotional books and religious writings generally, as well as the works of distinguished men with large circles of readers, were issued in still larger editions; as for instance 'The Praise of Folly,' by Erasmus, of which 1,800 copies were printed in 1515.

An immense number of the books printed in the fifteenth century have entirely disappeared, having been either destroyed in the religious and civil wars later on or lost through neglect in the nineteenth century. The number preserved, however, may be reckoned at over 30,000—many of them works of three, four, or even more thick folio volumes. This will give a good idea of the intellectual work and activity of that period.

[1] Hehle, pp. 2–40. The publishers in Italy considered that three hundred copies constituted a folio edition; see Van der Linde, p. 50. The smallest edition of the publications of Schweynheim and Pannartz in Rome contained 275 copies, the largest counted 1,100. Koberger and the large publishers in Venice often counted 1,800 in an edition.

CHAPTER II

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE [1]

IN a Catechism by the Friar Minor Diedrich Coelde, printed in 1470, in the Low German dialect, the following injunction, among others, is laid down in a chapter on the duties of parents to their children :—

'Children should be sent betimes to school, to worthy teachers, in order that they may be taught godly fear and reverence, and be saved from learning sin and evil in the streets. Those parents are to blame who object to the just punishment of their children.'

'When children are not sent to school under the care of good schoolmasters,' writes Sebastian Brant in his 'Narrenschiff,' 'they grow up to be wicked blasphemers, gamblers and drunkards; for the beginning, the middle, and the end of a good life is a good education.'

Concerning the duties of children to their teachers, Johann Wolf, the Frankfort chaplain, writes in a manual of self-examination before the Holy Sacrament: 'Love, honour, and obedience are due to teachers as well as to

[1] We possess but few authentic reports of the elementary schools at the commencement of the Middle Ages. However, enough remain to prove not only that such schools existed, but also how highly they were esteemed as mediums for Christian teaching and education, and how zealously the education of the people was encouraged by the Church.

parents; the schoolmaster who has taught you in your youth has become your spiritual father. Gold and silver cannot repay him; for the things of the spirit are higher and nobler than those of the body. The money he has received for his instruction may long since have been spent in procuring bodily necessities, while what he has taught you remains a possession for ever.

'The penitent before confession,' continues Wolf, 'should examine himself carefully as to whether he still harbours any resentment against his teachers for punishments inflicted.'

The teachers themselves were enjoined to co-operate with the Church in the catechetical instruction of the young. In an excellent handbook of instruction and edification entitled the 'Seelenführer' ('Soul's Guide'), which appeared in 1498, schoolmasters are exhorted to instruct the children in all Christian teaching and in the commandments of God and of the Church. 'They should assist the priests and supplement whatever the latter cannot do by preaching and other spiritual functions.'

Compulsory education was unknown, but from many records preserved in towns and villages we find that the schools were everywhere well attended.

In Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, in 1491, the master of a school for reading and writing complained that he and his assistant were not sufficient for the number of scholars, and begged for another under-master; whereupon the town council provided him, and also another school in the town, with a second assistant, stipulating, however, that they must arrange with the parents for the additional salary.

In the records of Wesel for the year 1494 we find

that five teachers were employed 'to instruct the children of the town in reading, writing, arithmetic and choir-singing.' At Christmas of the same year these said teachers were entertained by the clergy of the town, and each of them was presented with a piece of cloth for a coat and a small gold coin; 'for they have all well earned this reward.'

In the district of the Middle Rhine, in the year 1500, there were whole stretches of country where a national school was to be found within a circuit of every six miles. Small parishes even of only 500 or 600 souls, such as Weisenau, near Mayence, Michelstadt, in the Odenwald, were not without their village schools. Throughout the Empire, indeed, the number of schools was generally considerable. In many places also there were largely attended girls' schools. One of these especially, founded by Nicholas of Cusa at Xanten in 1497, counted eighty-four scholars, from both the nobility and the citizen classes. At its head stood at that time Aldegundis von Horstmar, who had been trained by the 'Brethren of the Social Life,' and whose system of education for young girls was formed on their rules. The citizens of Lübeck founded the cloister of St. Anna in order that the education of their daughters might be carried on in their own city, instead of their having to be sent to distant places, as had often been done before. In the year 1508 this institution was consecrated by the Pope.

Special schools were also erected for the children of the nobility: for instance, in the Augustinian Convent at Herdt, near Germersheim, for the nobility of the Speyergau, in Oberlingelheim for that of Rhenish Hesse, and that of the Lahn district at Wetter. This last

one owed its origin to Elizabeth von Brück, the abbess of the convent there, who was looked upon as the benefactress of the whole neighbourhood.* In 1436 this institution was solemnly consecrated under the name of the 'Marienschule.' The abbess ordained that three boys from the citizen or peasant classes should also be admitted, and that if they distinguished themselves by talent, industry, or good conduct, they should be placed on an equal footing with the other scholars. The knight Hans von Schoenstaett and a certain Herr von Rehen bequeathed their estates to this institution, and a priest named Meingot Gulden, who had been its director for years, left it the half of a farmstead at Rosphe.

We may judge how deeply learning was appreciated, and how highly the position of the teachers was respected, by the high salaries which the latter commanded. Up to the end of the Middle Ages we find nowhere any complaints from teachers of insufficient pay. At a time when a florin would buy from ninety to one hundred pounds of beef or from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five pounds of pork, the schoolmaster of a small hamlet near Goch received the following remuneration chiefly in kind: From the parish four florins, twelve bushels of barley, eight bushels of wheat, eight bushels of oats and sixty bundles of straw, besides house and kitchen-garden and the use of one-third of an acre of meadow land. Also from each pupil a monthly school fee of five stivers in winter and three in summer; and for services in the church, a yearly sum of about two to three florins. In the district of Capellen, near Guelders, in 1510, we find it decreed that each peasant who wished his children taught should pay the

teacher three stivers, four bushels of corn, and, if he owned a waggon, a load of wood. In Goch the head teacher had been receiving since 1450, in addition to his house and the school fees, the presents of different sorts from the children, eight florins yearly; to which income was added later on from a church bounty the sum of three and a half gold florins for the singing of Lauds with his pupils; while the salary of the town clerk was only five florins, and that of each of the two burgomasters only two and a half florins. At Eltville, in the Rheingau, the schoolmaster received yearly twenty-four florins, besides three *albuses* from each child; the teachers in Kiedrich, in the Rheingau, received from thirty to ninety guilders; the teacher in Seligenstadt, on the Main, received, besides his board and wine, eight bushels of wheat and the fees from the scholars.[1] In the schools at Culmbach and Bayreuth the yearly pay of the Latin teacher was seventy-five gold florins, besides board and lodging.

It is only by comparison of the different classes of schools that we can estimate the relative height of the incomes of schoolmasters at that time. The whole annual expenses (from 1451-1452) of a young nobleman at the University of Erfurt, including college fees, clothing, laundry, and board and lodging for himself and private tutor, came only to twenty-six florins. A Frankfort student paid, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, ten florins a year for board and lodging in the house of the Freiburg University professor Ulrich Zasius. In the year 1515, when the value of money had considerably fallen, a tun of wine could be bought

[1] Falk, *Schulen am Mittelrhein*, pp. 137–139; Zaun, *Geschichte von Kiedrich*, p. 156. On the salaries of teachers, see Nettesheim, p. 114.

for nine florins. The salaries of the village schoolmasters in the hamlets of Weeze and Capellen seem very large when compared with the income of the architect of Frankfort Cathedral, which did not exceed from ten to twenty florins a year, or with that of the first chamberlain of the mother of the Elector Palatine (Philipp von der Pfalz), which was thirty florins a year.[1]

'The instructors of youth,' says the 'Seelenführer' ('The Soul's Guide'), 'should be as highly honoured as the highest of the land, for it is hard work and labour to bring up children in Christian discipline and order. If they do this you must honour and love and befriend them.'

Albert Dürer, in some verses appended to one of his woodcuts in 1510, gives us some idea of the nature of this 'Christian discipline and order.' The picture represents a teacher holding in his right hand a rod, while his left hand rests on an open book. In front of him, on stools, sit several eager-looking boys, each with an inkstand hanging to his belt. In the accompanying rhymes are the following precepts among others:—'If thou wilt be clever and wise, pray to God all the days of thy life; if thou wishest to be recompensed, avoid all evil. Prevent others from thinking evil of their neighbour. This frees the heart from all bitterness, drives away all hate and envy, and disposes thy hearers to listen to thee favourably. Say what thou thinkest quietly; hold fast to the truth, lie not, and do not try to appear to men other than thou art.'[2]

[1] See Hautz, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Stipendien und Stiftungen am Lyceum zu Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1856), where abundant details on this subject are to be found.

[2] Heller, pp. 683–685; Thausing, *Dürer's Letters*, pp. 155–157. The principal defects in the school system of the day were the too frequent

All Christian instruction (such was the ordinance of the Church) should begin in the family; the Christian home should be the child's first place of training. 'Children are the hope of the Church,' so runs the 'Seelenführer.' 'Let parents, therefore, be admonished to see that their children grow up in Christian fear and reverence, and that their home be their first school and their first Church. Christian mother, when thou holdest thy child, which is God's own image, on thy knee, make the sign of the holy cross on his forehead, on his lips and on his heart, and as soon as he can lisp teach him to say his prayers. Take him betimes to confession, and instruct him in all that is needful to make him confess rightly. Fathers and mothers should set their children a good example, taking them to Mass, vespers, and sermons on Sundays and saints' days as often as possible. They should be punished as often as they neglect to do this.'

In the thirty-seventh chapter of Diedrich Coelde's Catechism, parents are admonished that they should teach their children in the German tongue the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed, and other matters of faith to be found in this book. 'Item: they should further teach them to honour Mary, the Mother of God, and their guardian angel, and all the holy saints. Morning and evening they should give their children the Benediction, and make them kneel in thanksgiving to God. Item: they must be taught from their youth up, for when they are older they get

changes of teachers, and the existence of what were called 'travelling students, bacchants and shooters.' (See Nettesheim, pp. 113–131.) The Swiss Thomas Platt wrote in 1510, on his visit to Breslau: 'It is said there are several thousand bacchants and shooters in the city who live by alms' (*Thomas and Felix latt*, pp. 20–21).

" stiffened," so that they neither can nor will do what is good. Further, they should be taught to say " Benedicite " and " Gratias " before and after meals; to be temperate in eating and drinking, and to be modest in the streets. Item: they should be clothed simply and unostentatiously, and be taken to Mass, to hear vespers, and sermons, and taught how to serve at the Mass.' Parents are advised 'to inspire their children with reverence to their betters, to correct them with moderation, to use the rod when necessary, and to be careful to keep them from bad company.' At the beginning of the chapter parents are warned that most of the evil in the world is the result of bad education in the family; that the welfare of their children depends on strict discipline, and that parents who allow their children to follow their own will prepare for themselves a scourge.

'The Christian house should be a Christian temple; above all on Sundays and holy days, when father and mother, children, man-servant and maid-servant, old and young, should join in praising God and reading His word; which, however, need not prevent joyous play and merriment during the rest of the day. On those days especially, parents should show their children the practical aspects of religion through almsgiving, the forgiveness of injuries, and other works of mercy. This would be a good example, which would not be lost.'

Johann Nider, in his sermons to parents and children on the Ten Commandments, speaks in the same strain: 'Are you so poor that you cannot give a penny to the beggar at the church door? Well, then, give him a Pater Noster, that he may bear his lot with patience. If you see some one belonging to you doing

wrong, correct him ; if some one does you a wrong, leave it in God's hands—it will redound to your soul's salvation.' Christians, after attending Mass and hearing sermons on saints' days, should read such books as will tend to their spiritual edification ; they may also sing songs about their handiwork or other matters, but not coarse or wicked songs.'

Stephen Lanzkrana, provost of the church of St. Dorothea in Vienna (1477), sketches a beautiful picture of the Christian family in the 'Hymelstrasz,' where he admonishes the father 'on Sundays, the first thing after breakfast, to go with his household and hear a sermon, and afterwards to sit at home with his wife, children, and servants, and question them as to what made most impression upon them in the sermon, telling them what struck him most. He should also hear them repeat, and expound to them, the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the Pater Noster and the Creed. He shall also give them something good to drink, and join *joyously* in singing the praises of God, of our Lady and the saints with his household.' It is further enjoined that on Sunday mornings 'all Christians who have come to years of discretion should hear a whole Mass—*i.e.* not leave the church until the blessing is given ; . . . that they should remain for the sermon and listen to it with attention, and repeat congregationally the Confiteor and the Commandments. It is also recommended that they should pray for the wants of the Church and the faithful. Whatever in the sermon cannot be remembered without notes should be written down at home.' [1]

[1] *Himmelstrasse*, published in Augsburg in 1484, pp. 50, 51 ; it is one of the best authorities on the manners of the fifteenth century.

In the 'Weihegärtlein' of the year 1509 occurs the following passage: 'Know, Christian fathers, that if you yourselves do not gladly hear sermons and listen to the exposition of your faith, you cannot give your children and households the instruction which your duty requires of you. See, then, that you hear God's Word diligently every Sunday; go to church morning and evening. Receive the Word with reverence, and treasure it in your hearts. Seek explanation of that which you do not understand, and then teach your children and households. Let the Word of God be the light to your path. It is good and profitable both to hear sermons and to buy good religious books and read in them frequently for instruction in the faith, the commandments, sin, virtue, and all true Christian doctrine.'

Thus, then, the education of the home and the school were to co-operate with the preaching of God's Word, and other religious instruction imparted by the Church: the Church, the home, and the school mutually supported and furthered each other's ends.

The high value that was set in the Middle Ages on the oral exposition of the Word of God is shown both by the acts of the synods and by the collections of manuals of popular religious instruction compiled for the use of the clergy.[1] For example, the Diocesan

[1] Schmidt, in a treatise on preaching, contained in his *Theological Studies* (1846), was the first Protestant authority to defend the style of preaching in vogue in Germany before the Reformation. J. Geffcken, in his *Illustrated Catechism of the Fifteenth Century* (1855), thus states the result of his researches: 'Preaching was quite as frequent in those days as in ours, and serious attention to it was considered as of great importance and obligation.' 'Furthermore,' adds Cruel, 'in cloisters, cathedrals, institutions, and other places where dwelt renowned preachers, sermons were given several times daily in Advent, the Ember-tides,

Synod of Basle, held in 1503, decrees that 'every Sunday those having the care of souls shall explain the Scriptures to the children of the parish in their native tongue. At the beginning of Lent they shall instruct those under their charge how to approach the sacrament of Penance, and exhort them to attend sermons and other doctrinal instructions on Sundays and holy days. Everyone must be present in the church, and listen attentively to the Word of God. All those who oppose these orders shall be reported to the bishop or his vicar.' 'All preachers of the Word of God should plead often and earnestly for the good bringing-up of children, and should ever be mindful of the claims of the poor, the lepers, the widows and the orphans, and of all persons in any trouble or distress.' The Bamberg Synod of 1491 commands all preachers to explain the Holy Scriptures clearly and intelligibly, particularly the New Testament, and to give instruction on the Ten Commandments at least once a year. Wherever there was a mixture of Slavs in the population, they, too, were to be taken into consideration. Thus at the Diocesan Synod of Meissen in 1504 the decree was issued that every priest who has Slavs dwelling in his parish must have an assistant who speaks the Wendish tongue, in order that no member of the flock may be deprived of the privilege of hearing the Word. The ascetic books also of the time insist everywhere on the duty of all who have the care of souls to preach the Gospel regularly on Sundays and saints' days. As the sermons in

Lent, and Easter' (pp. 647–651). The best authorities from a Catholic standpoint on this subject are M. Kerker, in the *Tübingen theologische Quartelschrift* (1861 and 1862), also L. Dacheur, in the *Revue Catholique de l'Alsace* (1862). For answer to Kaweraus' attacks on the preaching of the Middle Ages, see *Answer to My Critics*, pp. 193–204.

those days formed, next to the Holy Eucharist, the most important part of Divine service, the churches were built with practical regard to this consideration. Most of the mediæval pulpits still in existence date from this period.

The ecclesiastical authorities held firmly to the principle laid down by Johann Ulrich Surgant (the renowned preacher and defender of papal rights) in the year 1503, in his theological homiletics: 'Preaching is the most effective agent for the conversion of mankind; by its means especially are sinners brought to repentance; it is as great a sin to let anything in the Word of God be lost as through negligence to let a particle of the body of the Lord fall to the ground.' 'No word is above the Word of the Lord; and His blessing is on those who proclaim it and on those who humbly hear it without hypocrisy. Priceless is the preaching of a pious, prudent priest, who has the love of God and of souls at heart. It inspires good resolutions, it brings food and comfort and the best gifts of God to the soul, as those know who have piously listened.' 'In very truth,' writes Mathias, bishop of Spires, in 1471, 'the most excellent preachers of the church at Spires have ever found how greatly the glory of God and the welfare of the Church, the advancement of the orthodox faith and the salvation of souls, besides untold benefits to the nation, have been promoted by the attentive hearing of the Word of God.'

Hence all believers were most earnestly exhorted to attend the preaching of sermons. In the Diocesan Synods it was decreed that the priests should be directed to admonish their parishioners, under pain of excommunication, to assist on Sundays and feast days

at the parish Mass and sermon, and to remain to the end. In like manner the Lübeck 'Manuals for Confession' enjoin: 'Whoever will not hear the whole sermon on Sunday shall be excommunicated.' All 'Confessionals' of this period treat the evasion of the sermon through neglect or contempt as a heavy sin. Nicholas Rus, of Rostock, says also: 'The laity who leave the church when the Word of God is being preached shall be excommunicated by the bishop.' 'If you do not hear Mass and a sermon on Sundays,' says Wolf, 'you sin against the third Commandment.' In the 'Spiegel der Sünder' ('Mirror of Sinners'), 1470, occurs the following injunction to heads of families: 'If you have in your house boys and girls arrived at years of discretion—that is, girls of twelve and boys of fourteen years old—whom you have not taken to hear a whole Mass and sermon on Sundays, you and they are guilty of mortal sin; for all Christians of an understanding age are in duty bound to hear Mass and the preaching of the Word with reverence and piety.'

The anecdotes introduced occasionally in the 'Seelentrost' ('Spiritual Comfort') of 1483 are very significant of the attitude of the time with regard to the value of preaching. It is related, for instance, that there was once 'a holy man who met a devil carrying a bag. He asked him what he was carrying. The devil answered, "Boxes of different kinds of ointment. In this" (showing him a black box) "is an ointment with which I close men's eyes that they may sleep during the sermon; for the preachers are too clever at getting men away from me. One sermon may rob me of souls I have had in my power for thirty or forty years."'

As in Church manuals and books of religious instruction, so in the regulations of Christian households the duty of attending preaching regularly on Sundays and holy days was strongly insisted on—even under penalty of dismissal from service. In the year 1497, for instance, the Graf von Ottingen declares: 'Whoever in my employment, be it man or maid, does not hear the sermon to the end on Sundays and feast days will be dismissed.'

Both laymen and ecclesiastics made large endowments (*Stiftungen*) in favour of preachers, in order to enable them to go through preparatory studies. Among the most important of these were the endowments for the pulpit of the cathedral of Mayence in 1465, for that of Basle in 1469, of Strasburg in 1478, of Augsburg and Constance. That of Strasburg, which during the thirty years' tenure of Geiler von Kaisersberg grew to be one of the most influential in Germany, was founded by contributions from the Bishop and Chapter, and the liberal charity of the 'Ammeister' Peter Schott. The deed of foundation stipulated that 'the office of preacher shall exist for ever in our foundation; that for this post a man shall be selected, not only renowned for good morals and blameless conduct, but also for learning and scholarship. He shall preach on all holy days and festive occasions, on every Sunday afternoon, and daily during Lent.' In Augsburg, under the conditions laid down in 1504 by Bishop Frederic of Zollern, the founder of the endowment, the cathedral preacher, in addition to duties similar to those attached to the same office at Strasburg, was obliged to preach three times a week in Advent, and on occasions of the processions which were organised to pray for victory over

the infidels in time of war, and for deliverance from epidemics or tempests.

A report sent by John Cochläus from Nuremberg in the year 1511 gives some idea of the value set on preaching, in the larger towns especially. He writes: 'The piety at Nuremberg is remarkable, as well towards God as towards one's neighbour. The attendance at sermons is enormous, although preaching goes on in thirteen churches at the same time.' [1]

The custom of endowing special preachers was not confined to the large towns. In the principality of Wurtemburg alone there were, in the year 1514, eleven such foundations—at Stuttgart, Waiblingen, Schorndorf, Blaubeuren, Sulz, Dornstetten, Bottwar, Balingen, Brackenheim, Neuffen, and Göppingen.

The charter of the pulpit foundation in Waiblingen (1462), in the chapel of St. Nicholas, enacted that the preacher be required to preach either in the chapel or parish church every Sunday, on the four principal feasts, on the Feasts of Our Lady and the Apostles, and on every Friday and Wednesday in the seasons of fast. In Stuttgart the pulpit endowment was the gift of a brotherhood; in Göppingen and Schorndorf, of the whole congregation; in Waiblingen and Balingen, of a single citizen; in Neuffen, of a lady; in Blaubeuren,

[1] See Otto, p. 48. Meyer, pastor in Frankfort, 1511, often preached to between three and four thousand hearers. See Falk, *Beurtheilung des 15ten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 407, 408. There was so much preaching that a limit had to be set to it. We read, for instance, that John Turge, bishop of Breslau, allowed only one sermon to be preached on Sunday, in order that the Word of God should not be made too common. In Lent, however, and at other solemn occasions, several sermons were preached, according to the ancient custom. See 'Preaching in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century,' in the *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt*, 1873, pp. 337, 338. See Falk's *Hist.-pol. Bl.* (1878), lxxxi. 34–47.

Dornstetten, and Bottwar, of a priest, as also were those of Brackenheim and Sulz. This priest, Thomas Pfluger, pastor of Leidringen, founded the pulpit endowment in 1492, 'under the conviction that the Word of God, devoutly preached and listened to, brings to man abundant graces and blessings in this life, and helps him to gain eternal salvation, for through preaching the human reason and understanding are enlightened and man is led to correct his life and imitate Jesus Christ in the doing of good deeds, in order to be pleasing to God. Preaching incites man to observe the Divine commandments.' At the close of the Middle Ages there were, in the diocese of Augsburg, twelve towns possessing pulpit endowments where preaching was regularly held.

The number of collections of sermons and other works printed for the use of preachers is a conclusive evidence of how extensively preaching was cultivated at the period of the invention of printing. There are still extant more than one hundred such works, of more or less value, consisting of sermons for the Sundays and holy days of the year, for Lent and Advent, serial discourses on the Commandments and the seven deadly sins, as well as exhortations for various occasions. Among the most noteworthy writers of such works are the Carthusian Dionysius, the Franciscans Heinrich Herp and Johannes Meder, and the Dominican Johann Herolt; the Augustinian Gottschalk Hollen; the Canons Paul Wann and Michael Lochmayer; and the three great theologians, Ulrich Krafft, pastor of Ulm; Gabriel Biel, cathedral preacher of Mayence, and afterwards professor at Tübingen; and Geiler von Kaisersberg. In the whole collection there is scarcely one of

these works which did not appear in several editions —often in five or six different places—at very short intervals. The sermons of the Dominican Johann Herolt, for example, reached one hundred and forty-one editions, or forty thousand copies.

All sermons which were to be preached in the national tongue were always written in Latin, and also, when published, printed in Latin. This was not surprising in an age when the clergy pursued their philosophic and theological studies in the latter language. The plan had this advantage, at any rate, that when preachers borrowed sermons from other writers they were obliged to take the trouble to translate them for themselves. Ulrich Surgant, in his handbook of pastoral theology, dilates on the importance of 'doing this with intelligence, not satisfying themselves with literal translations, but taking pains to understand the spirit of their theme, and to master the local idioms in order to avoid giving a false or ambiguous rendering.' [1]

The preachers in the towns often overrated the capacity of their hearers, and brought too much scholarship from their colleges to their pulpits. The

[1] For further proof see Geffcken, pp. 10–14, also Kerker's second treatise, pp. 280–301. The old charge that the people were preached to in a language which they did not understand is a thing of the past. Even Schmidt, in writing on the subject, says: 'In Germany at the beginning of the fifteenth century there were priests who tried to instruct the people by reading aloud Latin orations.' For the truth of this statement he refers to Duprat, who says that at the Synod of Breslau in 1410 it was decreed that at every Latin sermon the Lord's Prayer and the Creed should, at any rate, be read in the vernacular. In the regulations in question, however, there is nothing about Latin preaching: but the preacher is ordered to explain the Lord's Prayer, Ave, and Creed, on account, no doubt, of the mixed congregations of German and Polish. See *Statuta Synodalia a Wenceslao episc. Wratis. a. 1410 publicata*, Can. 17.

sermons of Gabriel Biel, for instance, are treatises on the most abstruse dogmas of the Christian faith, such as the doctrines of the Trinity, of Original Sin, and of the Seven Sacraments. Some preachers would discuss whole books of the Bible in continuous addresses. 'In many churches,' writes Erasmus, 'it is the custom for the priest, in one sermon, to expound the whole of the Gospel to the people, or else to give a continuous exposition of all the Pauline Epistles in succession. Each one of the Ten Commandments would have four or five whole sermons devoted to it. In the general run of sermons, it was also the custom to introduce fables, legends, sayings, anecdotes (occasionally somewhat out of taste), by way of illustrating the meaning.' [1]

From collections of sermons still extant we find that preachers in the rural districts generally confined themselves to the explanation of the principal passages of the Gospel of the Sunday; this explanation often preceded, or was followed by, catechetical instructions. The 'Seelenführer' ('The Soul's Guide') says: 'The practice, which exists among priests of explaining points of doctrine to old and young, and of questioning them upon the same, is highly commendable. The teaching of the sermons, and the tables of Commandments and Confession, &c., which hang in the churches are thus rendered intelligible.' This sort of catechetical instruction, as a supplement to preaching, was carried on in towns and villages in a variety of ways.

A universal principle in religious instruction was

[1] *Speculum Exemplorum* (Hain, No. 14915). 'Do not imitate,' says Trithemius to a friend in the year 1486, 'those who entertain the people with fables, thus exciting admiration for themselves. Wonder not that the people prefer such to the Gospel.' See Cruel, p. 654.

that pictures were the books of the illiterate. Hence the religious dramas, mystery plays, &c., in which the whole story of the redemption of the world is represented; and the so-called 'Bibles of the Poor,' which were often produced in frescoes, bas-reliefs, and painted windows. The 'Dance of Death' frescoed on cemetery walls, and the 'Stations of the Cross' erected, with indulgences attached to the devotion, may be also traced to the same cause. Especially in the latter part of the fifteenth century we find this picture teaching in vogue. The Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa seems to have attached great importance to it, for we find that in his constant visitations through all parts of Germany he was in the habit of erecting tablets with the Commandments, the Creed, and portions of the Scriptures engraved on them.

'Such articles of faith as are essential to man,' writes Geiler von Kaisersberg, 'may be learned by the common people through contemplation of the pictures and stories which are painted everywhere in the churches. These are the Scriptures of the lower classes.' In his translation of Gerson's popular three-volume work 'On the Ten Commandments, Confession, and the Art of Dying Well,' the same author says: 'Priests, parents, schoolmasters, and hospital superintendents should have the lessons contained in this little book represented in pictures and hung up in churches, schools, hospitals, and public places, for it was written with a special view to the instruction and benefit of the unlearned, who may never have an opportunity of listening to sermons. . . . And above all it is intended for children and young people, who from their infancy should be well instructed in the general principles and the more important points

of our religion. . . . Fathers and mothers should in these things prepare their children for the schoolmaster.'

'Question your children often,' thus does the 'Seelenführer' admonish parents, 'as to what they have understood of the Commandments, the Creed, and the explanations they have received in church and at school; thereon depends their salvation and yours. It is not sufficient to know by heart the words of the Commandments, the Creed, the seven deadly sins, and the sacraments; all who have come to years of discretion must also know the meaning of all this doctrine.' Lanzkrana speaks even more strongly in the 'Hymelstrasz' ('Road to Heaven'). 'It is the bounden duty of everyone so soon as he comes to the use of his reason to learn the Commandments of God, not only so as to be able to repeat them word for word as in the text, but so as to understand them and keep them, and to know also what they require him to avoid. In like manner, he must know what are the seven capital sins, and in what consists true penance. Also the signification of the Lord's Prayer, and what we are entitled to hope for from God and to pray to Him to grant. In such manner should all fathers and mothers instruct their children, all teachers their pupils, all superiors their inferiors, according to their position.'

'Parents and schoolmasters,' writes the Lutheran Mathesius, in allusion to the days of his youth, 'were accustomed to teach their children the Commandments, the Creed, and the Pater Noster. I learned them myself in my childhood, and, according to the school custom of the time, often rehearsed them to other children.' The Saxon Prince Johann Friedrich, afterwards

Elector of Saxony, when a boy of eight or nine, used often to beg his father to allow him to go to 'Catechism' with the children of the town of Torgau, 'for it amused his youthful "Highness" to hear one child teaching and catechising another.'

The oldest regular Catechism known to us is that called the 'Christen-spiegel.' ('Mirror of the Christian'), drawn up by the great popular preacher Diedrich Coelde, a Friar Minor of Münster, in Westphalia. It was first published in Low German in the year 1470, and was gradually brought out and disseminated in other editions. It is so simple, intelligible, and forcible that it could be used now with as much profit as four hundred years ago. The one leading thought from beginning to end is—'Jesus my all! All for Jesus!' After an exposition of the general principles of the faith, he deals with the Apostles' Creed, the two great commandments of love of God and of our neighbour, the Decalogue, and the five commandments of the Church.

'Seeing that faith is the foundation of virtue and the beginning of human holiness' (such are the opening words), 'it is necessary and profitable to repeat our Creed daily with our lips and to meditate on it in our hearts. And not only are we bound to believe the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed, but also that which is revealed to us in the Scriptures and commanded by the Church.' On the first commandment he adds the following commentary: 'Man must place all his faith, all his hope, and all his love on God alone, and on no creature besides. It is a sin against the first commandment to place our faith or hope or love more in the saints than in God.'

In connection with the Commandments he deals

seriatim with all the different kinds of sin—the seven capital sins, the sins against the Holy Ghost, and so forth. Then follow instructions on forgiveness of sin, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; on the corporal and the spiritual works of mercy, and so on. Specially beautiful are the passages on prayer, on the devout hearing of Mass, and on Christian sanctification of the whole day. The duties of the different stations of life are clearly laid down.

The passage on the preparation for death is very touching, telling how man should trust in nothing else but the merits of Jesus Christ, through whose 'hard expiation' alone our repentance has any merit. The book being a manual of prayer as well as a catechism, it is interspersed with ejaculatory prayers for the sick and dying, which they can either utter for themselves or have read to them. It is also enjoined that the narratives of our Lord's Passion be read to them.

All the manuals of instruction, prayer-books, and sermons of the period were of the same character. In a commentary on the Ten Commandments, published in 1515, we read: 'Man cannot be saved by himself alone, and must not expect salvation from his own merits, as it is earned alone through Jesus Christ, who will judge us not according to our deserts, but rather through His own mercy. We must fly for refuge to the loving heart of Jesus. The Father will not turn from us when we arrive at the kingdom where there are many mansions.' 'Every Christian,' says Albrecht von Eyb, in his 'Guide to Christian Perfection,' 'should thus address God: "I cannot redeem myself through my own works, but do Thou, O God, redeem and sanctify me and have mercy on me. I trust not in myself, but in Thy Divine

mercy. Thou alone art my hope, and against Thee have I sinned. Thou didst love me enough to die for me; let me not be lost." '

The faithful are taught to invoke the Blessed Virgin in the following words: 'Queen of Heaven, Mother of mercy, Refuge of sinners, reconcile me to thy Son, and beg Him to be merciful to me, an unworthy sinner.'

In a pastoral address issued by Surgant in 1503, priests are enjoined to comfort and exhort the sick in the following manner: 'Our dear Lord Jesus suffered and died on the tree of the cross for you, for He wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live. Therefore you should not despair of the mercy of God, but place all your hope in Him. Bear your illness patiently and let your small sufferings be lost in the great pain and Passion of Christ. Fear not, but trust in the protection of the Cross in all your necessities. Pray to the glorious Virgin Mother of God and to the saints and angels to stay by you in your last end and conduct you to eternal life.'

In the 'Seelenwürzgärtlein' (the most perfect and also most widely used manual of devotion) occur the following unsurpassed instructions on 'How to learn to die'—a lesson which 'men should study day by day till they have mastered it. While thy precious soul is still in thy body put thy trust in the merits of Jesus Christ.' The Christian should pray, 'O merciful Lord Jesus, I place Thy death between Thy justice and my poor soul.' Ulrich Krafft in like manner says, in his 'Spiritual Combat,' published in 1503: 'I know that we have a good God, and I wish to die confiding in His mercy, not in my own works.' Nowhere, however, do we find the doctrine of the salvation of man

depending on the merits of Christ more strongly insisted upon than in the book entitled 'The Treasure of the Soul,' which appeared in 1491. 'Our strength and safety, our weapon and victory,' says the author,' depend on our faith. If it be strong in us, then we are strong against the enemy; if, however, we are weak in faith, which God forbid, we lose our defence and are in danger.

'So long as our faith is unshaken, our enemy has no power. Therefore, let him who is determined to overcome stand fast by the faith. When the devil attacks you through your pride, suggesting that you have nothing to fear from the justice of God because of the many good works you have performed, reply to him, "No, it would be impossible to merit salvation by my poor works. Christ has merited it for me, by His sufferings under Pontius Pilate, by His crucifixion and death. In His merits I hope. Christ has merited it for me. In Him I hope. To Him I cry for mercy and grace through the intercession of all the saints." ' 'You observe,' says the author in his preface, 'what the faithful mother of all Christendom advises, what she teaches, to whom she points and leads us. The all-wise, faithful mother, the Roman Catholic Church, places her highest and greatest hopes in the sufferings of Christ, and she directs her children to the same, as the surest refuge in their necessities.'

The 'Seelenführer,' from which we have so often quoted, is particularly explicit in its instructions on the sacraments and on the veneration of the saints: 'Know, brethren, that the Church has always taught that the intercession of the saints is very profitable for all who desire to obtain salvation. Call upon them to obtain for you that which is pleasing to God and good for you.

But be careful that you pray aright, placing your confidence in God above all. Thus only will your prayer be acceptable.' The author of 'Seelenführer' seems in this passage to have borrowed from the 'Explanation of the Twelve Articles of the Creed,' which was printed at Ulm in 1486. With regard to the Communion of Saints this book says: 'The Church triumphant prays for the Church militant . . . for in heaven they have even more charity than when on earth. On earth they prayed for the living and the dead; after death they still pray for those on earth and those in Purgatory. He who denies this is guilty of the heresy that the saints cannot intercede for us.' 'All the things that we pray for are such only as are conducive to salvation, and such as God alone can grant. But the holy saints can help by their prayers and merits to have our petitions granted; therefore our prayers are actually addressed only to God. The Church does not say, "Christ, pray for us," but "Christ, have mercy on us. . . . Christ, hear us."' In the 'Würzgärtlein der andächtigen Uebung,' published in 1513, it is said: 'We pray to God as our Creator and Redeemer, begging Him to pardon our sin and to grant us His grace, while we ask the saints to obtain this for us by their prayers. To Christ we say, "Lord, have mercy on me, forgive me my sins, grant me Thy grace. Give me eternal life."'

The Church doctrine of indulgences was laid down with equal clearness. 'An indulgence,' says Geiler of Kaisersberg, 'is the remission of a debt. But what debt? Not mortal sin, for freedom from this is necessary before an indulgence can be obtained. Not the eternal punishment of sin, for in hell there is no forgiveness. . . . It is the temporal punishment due after the

eternal has, through repentance and confession, been forgiven.' 'Know,' says 'The Soul's Guide,' 'that an indulgence does not forgive sin, but only the temporal punishment still due to it. Know that you cannot obtain an indulgence while you are in sin and before you have repented, confessed, and resolved sincerely to amend. God is merciful, and has given His Church the power to forgive sin, as also a treasury of graces, but not for those who have only a superficial sorrow, fancying that they can gain heaven by outward acts.'

The 'Summa Johannis' of 1482 teaches also as follows: 'Only those who are truly contrite merit an indulgence. Moreover, indulgences are not gained at once even by true penitents, but according as they qualify themselves for them by sincerity, good works, and almsgiving in proportion to their means.' In answer to those who accuse the Church of venality in selling indulgences, the 'Explanation of the Articles of the Church' says: 'The Church does not wish to amass riches, but to work for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. Not all those who help to build churches gain indulgences; only those who, being free from mortal sin and having a firm confidence in the mercy of God, give alms in the spirit of faith and veneration of the saints, in whose honour the churches are built.' [1]

Another catechetical handbook which was also a manual of devotion is the 'Seelen-trost,' which was published in the same years (from 1474–1491), in

[1] See *Die Liebe Gottes, mitsammt dem Spiegel der Kranken*, a book on the doctrine of indulgences published in Augsburg, 1494. Also Geiler of Kaisersberg's *Collected Sermons* (Augsburg, 1504). Never was so much written on the doctrine of indulgences as in the fifteenth century. Among the many writers on the subject, Trithemius and Jacob von Juterbogk (1466) are the clearest and most vigorous.

different dialects and different places—at Augsburg, Cologne, Utrecht, Haarlem, Zwolle, and elsewhere—and is the most beautiful prose work of the century. 'I intend,' says its unknown author, 'to write a book in the German language, out of the Holy Scriptures, for the honour of God and the benefit of my fellow-Christians; it will contain flowers culled by many hands, and it shall be called "Seelen-trost" ("Consolation for the Soul"). Therein I shall write about the Ten Commandments, the Holy Sacraments, the eight Beatitudes, the six works of mercy, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven deadly sins, the seven cardinal virtues, and all else with which God shall inspire me. What does not seem like truth, that I shall set aside, and I shall choose that which is altogether best, and which is profitable and comforting, as a physician seeks out useful plants for his medicines, and as a dove picks out the best grain to eat. I beg those who read this book to pray for me, that, together, we may all arrive where we shall find eternal salvation. May the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost help us to gain it!' The explanations of the different commandments are supplemented and illustrated by anecdotes of all sorts, told with rare pathos and beauty.

As the utmost importance was attached to worthy preparation for receiving the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, most of the catechetical writings appeared in the form of manuals of confession and treatises on the Ten Commandments, on the various kinds of sins, and on preparation for the Holy Communion.[1]

[1] See Falk *On Confession Books*, pp. 38-44, 99-104. See Münzberger, iii. 33; Hasak, *Religious Literature*, p. 214. See Knecht, *Magazin für Pedagogik, Bihtebuch, dabey die Bezeichnunge der heiligen Messe.*

Conspicuous among such works is the 'Confession Book' which Johannes Wolf, chaplain of St. Peter's, Frankfort-on-the-Main, prepared for the press in the year 1473. It begins with an admirable preface for children about to make their first confession, and then proceeds with catechetical instruction on faith, hope, and love, based on the Ten Commandments.

With regard to the images of the saints it says: 'We must honour them, not for themselves, but as reminders of what they represent, in the same manner as the Church does, otherwise it would be idolatry.' The chapter on the fourth commandment, which treats of the duty of children to their parents after the flesh, as also to their spiritual parents, to their schoolmasters and earthly superiors, is particularly instructive. With regard to the treatment of the aged poor it says: 'They are as fathers and mothers on account of their age, and represent Jesus.' 'Have I ridiculed the poor? Have I respected them? Have I visited them and given them to eat and to drink? Have I treated them rudely or made them stand at my door? Christians should consider their superfluities as belonging to the poor. Examine yourself on this point, and, if guilty, accuse yourself somewhat as follows: "I have loved my riches, which belong to the poor, so much that I neglected to give alms."'

On the necessity of repentance for the forgiveness

These 'Confession Books' are of the highest importance as showing how the Church opposed superstition (called 'Diseased belief' or 'Unbelief'). The work *Christliche Glaube, &c.*, by Hasak, is invaluable as an epitome of nearly ninety different books, designed principally for the people, and written between 1470 and 1520. In *Die Religiöse Litteratur*, p. 240, Hasak says: 'In going over the religious literature of the declining century not once can it be found asserted that man could be reconciled to God by outward works without proper inward feeling.'

of sin it says: 'You must know that there are various kinds of sorrow for sin. . . . The first kind is when a man understands that sin is inconsistent with a virtuous life, and misgiving and regret come over him for having sinned. . . . Such sorrow have the heathens and Turks and Jews. The second kind comes with the feeling that by sin one's reputation for goodness is gone, and one is branded as a perjurer, murderer, thief, &c., according to one's fault. The third proceeds from the knowledge that by one deadly sin man is in danger of hell-fire. All these kinds of sorrow spring from selfishness and the fear of personal loss or punishment, not from the love of God and of His honour. But the right kind of sorrow comes from the sense of having offended the supreme, perfect, and Almighty God, the Creator, Father, and Saviour, by insulting His honour and glory and breaking His laws. When man has such sorrow, and, with the firm resolution to sin no more, confesses his misdeeds and trusts in the mercy of God and the merits and passion of Christ, he will be forgiven. The beauty of innocence will again clothe his heart, and his soul once more become the temple of the Holy Ghost. Man should strive after the attainment of contrition of this sort before and during confession.'

'The Light of the Soul,' a book which appeared in Lübeck in 1484, says: 'Penance saves the soul from hell; whoever dies in a state of deadly sin without sorrow and penance will be lost eternally, though he should have converted heathens and infidels, built hospitals, churches, convents, yea, suffered martyrdom. A thousand thousand Masses and fasts could not save him—no, not the prayers of all the saints and angels,

even of the Mother of God, though continued through all time, can avail him.'

Annexed to these Catechisms and Books of Confession were scenes from the life of Christ taken from the four Evangelists and accompanied by short commentaries. In the 'Seele Richtsteig,' published at Rostock in 1515, we read: 'Whoever wishes to lead a pious and holy life must keep ever before his eyes the life and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the quiet of his own home and when in pursuit of his worldly duties and avocations; when he retires to rest, and on rising again in the morning to his work and to the service of God. He should write this life on the posts and sills of his door: that is, it should possess his whole being in sanctity and holiness.'

Great store was also set on the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, and several German expositions of the holy Mass were also put into the hands of the people. From year to year the number of books of religious instruction and of Lives of the Saints increased.

'Both to the learned and the unlearned,' wrote the Church reformer John Busch, 'it is very beneficial to possess and to read daily German books of devotion on virtues and vices: on the Incarnation; on the lives and martyrdom of the Apostles, confessors, and virgins; on the humility and virtues of the saints; for they incite us to improve our own lives and to watch over our conduct, and they inspire us with love of the heavenly Fatherland, they beget in us the fear of hell and the desire of heaven.'

Among all these religious publications, the 'Plenaries,' or German 'Handpostillen,' deserve special consideration. As many as 102 different compilations and

editions of these appeared between about 1470 and 1520. They contained the Epistles and Gospels of the ecclesiastical year, with expositions of the Gospels. A further development was printing the German text of portions of the Mass services for all the Sundays and holy days, accompanied by commentaries and illustrations calculated to enforce their meaning. Had no other books of instruction been preserved from those times, these 'Plenaries' alone would afford proof that more was done for the religious instruction of the people in those days than at any other time before or since. In the main they are decidedly superior to similar publications of the present day, and many of them may in parts rank with the best German prose works.

From all these books, which were intended for the general use of the people, we see how children and grown-up people were instructed in the highest truths of religion and trained and helped to lead thoroughly Christian lives. Nowhere do we find 'salvation by works alone,' idolatrous worship of the saints, or abuse of indulgences inculcated. It is true that throughout the narratives which occur in the books of devotion, and in the German legends of the saints, there is a vein of superstition which often borders on the childish; but through the dross there shines the pure gold of faith in an Almighty power which protects the pious, rewards the virtuous, and, in justice, punishes the wicked. 'There is no need,' says the 'Seelenführer,' 'to believe all the wonders we read of in pious books.' The miracles of the Scriptures are miracles indeed, and there are many other credible ones which the holy saints worked through the power of God. But many

are only related as examples, and to set forth the majesty of God, who rewards the good and punishes the wicked.

In all the religious books approved and used by the Church we find the pure, orthodox, unadulterated doctrine of salvation; and all are pervaded by an undertone of feeling which is best expressed in the words of a 'Help to Preparing for the Holy Communion,' published in Basle: 'Enter into the depths of thine own heart; there find thy Jesus and bury thyself in His sacred wounds. Banish all confidence in thy own merits, for all salvation comes from the cross of Christ, in whom place thy hope.'

'All that the Holy Church teaches,' says the 'Himmelstür' of the year 1513, 'all that you hear in sermons or through other modes of instruction, all that is written in religious books, all the hymns and praises you sing to the honour and glory of God, all the prayers that you pour from your inmost soul—yea, all the trials and afflictions that you suffer, should incite you to read with piety and humility the Bibles and the sacred writings which are now translated into the German tongue, printed and distributed in large numbers, either in their entirety or in parts, and which you can purchase for very little money.'

The number of translations both of single books of the Old and New Testaments, as well as of the complete Bible, was indeed very great. We have evidence of twenty-two editions of the Psalms with German translations up to 1509, and of twenty-five German versions of the Gospels and Epistles up to 1518. Between this period and the separation of the Churches at least fourteen complete editions of the Bible were published

in High German, and five in the Low German dialect.[1] The first High German edition was brought out in 1466 by Johann Mendel, of Strasburg; then followed one Strasburg edition in 1470, two of Augsburg in 1473, an edition entirely in the Swiss dialect in 1474, two more Augsburg editions in 1477 and another in 1480, one Nuremberg edition in 1483, another of Strasburg in 1485, and four more of Augsburg respectively in 1487, 1490, 1507, and 1518. By the beginning of the sixteenth century a sort of German 'Vulgate' had crystallised into shape.[2]

Like the German Catechisms and manuals of devotion generally, these Bibles were illustrated with numerous woodcuts, in order, as the publisher of the Cologne Bible expressed it, 'that the people might be the more readily induced to a diligent study of Holy Writ.' We have a mass of evidence to show that this was the prevailing motive in this extensive multiplication of copies of the Scriptures. The compiler of the Basle 'Gospel Book' (1514), for instance, speaks as follows in urging the necessity of reading and studying the Bible: 'We shall have to render a strict account to God of all our time; the present, which is called the time of grace, is precious beyond measure to all devout souls. Therefore it is recommended to all to read the Scriptures, in order to attain to a knowledge of God, our Creator

[1] *Deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, by W. Walther, Brunswick, 1889. Hain, Nr. 3129 to 3143; Alzog, pp. 65, 66. According to the best authorities, the first translation of the Bible into High German was printed by Eggestein at Strasburg in 1466. The last is that of Silvanus Otmar, printed in Augsburg. The first translation into Low German appeared in Delf in 1477 (Van der Linde, p. 105), the first Saxon version at Lübeck in 1494.

[2] Geffcken, pp. 6–10; Maier, in the *Tübingen Quartelschrift*. pp. 56, 694.

and Lord; for the grace which man may obtain from God through reading or hearing the Holy Scriptures is without limit, if so be that we act up to what we know. As the holy Apostle St. James says in the fourth chapter of his Epistle: "To him, therefore, who knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is a sin." ' The author then enumerates the various benefits which follow from reading or hearing the Holy Scriptures, and goes on to say: 'There is no trial or affliction, however great, for which, if we read the Holy Scriptures, and take them truly to heart, and put our trust in God, we shall fail to be comforted by the grace of the Holy Spirit. He who is without faith is without help and grace; while the strong in faith find comfort and assistance and much grace. Our Lord said to St. Peter when he feared death in the storm: "O thou of little faith, what fearest thou?" ' 'Among the readers of the Bible we may distinguish five separate classes. First, those who read to know but not to do—rather that they may reprove others; this is spiritual pride. Secondly, those who read in order to be considered learned. Thirdly, those who read with a view to personal gain, which is base and mercenary. Fourthly, those who study and read in order to instruct others in the will of God, and to better their lives, which is true charity. Fifthly, and lastly, those who use all their efforts to learn that which is true wisdom. To the last two classes the study of the Sacred Scriptures is profitable, for they are not actuated by pride or hypocrisy.'

The publisher of the Cologne Bible writes also very beautifully on the reading of this holy book. 'All Christians,' he says, 'should read the Bible with piety and reverence, praying the Holy Ghost, who

is the inspirer of the Scriptures, to enable them to understand them and to make them profitable to them for the salvation of their souls.' 'The learned,' he continues, 'should make use of the Latin translation of St. Jerome; but the unlearned and simple folk, whether laymen or clergy, monks and nuns especially, in order to avoid the danger of idleness, which is the root of all evil, should read the German translations now supplied, and thus arm themselves against the enemy of our salvation. With this object in view, one who is a lover of human holiness did, out of a good heart, and at great cost and no sparing of labour, cause to be printed in Cologne, between the years 1470 and 1480, a translation of the Holy Scriptures, which had been made many years before and used in MS. copies in monasteries and convents, and which also, long before this year 1470, had been printed and sold in the Oberland and in a few towns of the Netherlands.' 'All, however,' he adds, 'who read the Bible in German should do it with humility, leaving unjudged what they cannot understand—in short, accepting it according to the interpretation which the Roman Catholic Church has spread over the world.'

In a little book entitled 'Useful and Consoling,' published in 1508, we read: 'Let all who read the Scriptures pray as follows: "O Lord Jesus, enlighten my mind, that I may understand Thy word, and be led thereby to repentance and piety. Grant that my reading of the Holy Scriptures may advance me in the spirit of prayer and meditation. Blessed, O Lord, is the man whom they teach. . . . Lord Jesus, teach me to understand what I read, and to put it in practice."'

The 'Würzgärtlein' ('Blessed Garden') of the year

1509 teaches in the same spirit: 'On Sundays and holy days you should read the Holy Scriptures, particularly the Gospels and Epistles, with attention and earnestness. But remember that you cannot do so with profit unless you first pray for the light of the Holy Spirit. You should also excite yourself to contrition, as if you were preparing for confession. If you read the Scriptures in a spirit of pride, it will be harmful to you. What you do not understand refer to the Church; she expounds all things aright, and alone has the gift of interpretation.'

In the Lübeck Bible of 1494 explanatory notes taken from Nicholas of Lyra are added at obscure and difficult passages, 'in order to make the text clearer.'

The rapidity with which the different editions followed each other and the testimony of contemporary writers point to a wide distribution of German Bibles among the people. John Eck tells us that he had read nearly the whole of the Bible by the time he was ten years old. Adam Potken, chaplain of Xanten, was made to learn the four Evangelists by heart when he was a boy, between 1470 and 1480; and afterwards he was in the habit of reading passages daily from the Old and New Testaments with his pupils of eleven and twelve years old. With such zeal was the study of the Bible pursued in the fifteenth century that we find a Canon of Cassel in the year 1480 founding an endowment to enable a student from the village of Harmuthsachsen, near Eschwege, to devote eight years to this study alone.

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND THE OLDER HUMANISTS

THE intellectual condition of the German people was most beneficially influenced by the schools of the society called 'The Brethren of the Social Life,' founded by Gerhard Groot[1] in the Netherlands. The settlements of the 'Brothers' spread gradually along the Rhine as far as Suabia, and by the end of the fifteenth century they reached from the Scheldt to the Vistula, from Cambrai, through the whole of Northern Germany, to Culm, in Western Prussia. In these schools Christian education was placed high above mere learning, and the training of children in practical religion and active piety was considered the most important duty. The whole system of instruction was permeated by a Christian spirit; the pupils learnt to look upon religion as the basis of all human existence and culture, while at the same time they had a good supply of secular knowledge imparted to them, and they gained a genuine love for learning and study. Youths eager for knowledge flocked from all parts to these schools. The number of scholars at Zwolle rose often to eight hundred or a thousand; at Alkmaar to nine hundred;

[1] This great man will be best understood when his writings, particularly his letters, have been published. See Grube, *Gerhard Groot*, pp. 45-47. For particulars regarding 'The Brethren of the Social Life,' see K. Hirsch in Herzog's *Real Encyclopaedie*, ii. b, 678-760; Kämmel, *Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens*, pp. 207-231.

at Herzogenbusch to twelve hundred ; and at Deventer, in the year 1500, actually to 2,200. The instruction in these schools being free, they were open to students of the smallest means. In many of the towns also, where they had not started actual schools, the Brothers made themselves active in the cause of education by supplying teachers for the town schools, paying the school fees for the poorer scholars and supplying them with books and stationery and other school materials.

In 1431 Pope Eugene sent express orders to the Archbishop of Cologne and to the Bishops of Münster and Utrecht, that they should prevent any interference with the beneficial work of the Brothers. His successors, Pius II. and Sixtus IV., went even further in support and encouragement of the Brothers. Among German prelates, Nicholas of Cusa was one of their most active patrons. Himself educated at Deventer, he had given the school there material support by a liberal endowment for the maintenance of twenty poor students, and he used all his efforts for the furtherance of their institutions generally.

His most gifted *protégé*, the Frieslander Rudolphus Agricola, was one of that chosen band of students whom the renowned Thomas à Kempis gathered around him in Zwolle,[1] and which further included the three Westphalians Alexander Hegius, Rudolph von Langen, and Ludwig Dringenberg, all of them equally distinguished for their learning, their piety, and the purity of their morals. They were the most zealous revivers of classic literature on German soil, the fathers of the older German Humanism.

[1] Thomas à Kempis was, probably, not a teacher in that school. See Dillenburger, pp. 4–7.

It is a noteworthy fact that the intellectual bent of these Humanist scholars was influenced by the same man who is known by his works as the highest type of ascetic piety among the 'Brethren of the Social Life.'

The older Humanists were no less enthusiastic over the grand heirloom left by the classic nations of antiquity than their successors, who by their united energies founded the later school of Humanists in the second decade of the sixteenth century. They recognised in classic literature most precious material for cultivating the mind, an inexhaustible field of noble sentiment. The Greek and Roman classics, however, should not be studied merely to achieve intellectual greatness, but as a means towards Christian ends. Though eager for refreshment and revival from the intellectual life of the ancients, and desirous of gaining a scientific knowledge of that life, their chief aim was to attain to a fuller understanding of Christianity and to the purification of moral life. This standpoint of theirs was by no means a new one. Even in the early centuries of Christianity, the Fathers of the Church had pursued and advocated the study of the ancient languages for the same reasons. In the schools of the Middle Ages also, up to the thirteenth century, the classics had been diligently read. And now, after a long interval of degradation and barbarism, the leaders of the German 'New Learning' were endeavouring to take up the threads of this former period of classic culture. Now that by the conquest of Constantinople so many new treasures had been added to the already existing store, while the invention of printing so greatly facilitated their spread, they strove in every way both to get firm hold of the new knowledge them-

selves and to disseminate it among the people. The older Humanists were not opposed to the clerical Scholastic philosophy itself, but only to the barren, lifeless formalism in which it was at that time embodied, and to the endless pedantic disputations, hair-splittings, and sophistries of dry Scholasticism.

Hence the older Humanists were not looked upon as dangerous and destructive innovators by the Scholastic theologians and philosophers at the head of the colleges. Among the two parties into which the Scholastic camp was divided, the so-called Nominalists and Realists, the former, indeed, numbers few conspicuous promoters of the Humanist movement; for Nominalism was in its intrinsic and entire character rather negative, destructive and analytical, than positive, constructive and creative. On the other hand, it was to the Realists that we owe the introduction of Humanist studies into the colleges and universities. Even those among the Realists who were considered as the worst obscurantists helped and encouraged the Humanist tendencies and efforts so long as they did not threaten the doctrine and discipline of the Church and the principles of Christianity.

The conflict only began, and could not then but begin, when the younger Humanists rejected all the old theological and philosophical teaching as sophistry and barbarism, claimed reason and right for their own views alone, acknowledged no other source of enlightenment than the ancient classics, and in short rose up in uncompromising enmity against the Church and Christendom, not unfrequently outraging the Christian code of morality by the wanton levity of their lives.

The older and younger schools of Humanists were

thus fundamentally opposed to each other. They differed also in their respective attitudes towards the classics, which the younger school too often regarded from the sole standpoint of outward beauty of form and language, while the Humanists of the older school were always striving to acquire a more thorough grasp of the entire life of the ancients. The younger school, moreover, altogether despised their own native tongue and literature; while the older school valued the classics in great measure as a means of giving the German people an insight into their own past and of improving the German language.

We find all these characteristics of the older German Humanists strongly accentuated even in Agricola, the actual founder of the school.

Rudolph Agricola, born at Baflo, near Groningen, in 1442, had made himself master of all the classical scholarship of his day. He was called a second Virgil. Even in Italy, where he lived from 1473 to 1480, he excited wonder by the fluency, correctness, and purity which he had acquired in the Latin language. The desire of his heart was that Germany should attain to such perfection of culture and scholarship that 'Latium itself should not surpass it in Latinity.' Wimpheling recounts in his praise that he insisted on having the ancient historians translated into German, with German explanatory notes appended, in order that the people might make acquaintance with them, and also as a means of improving and beautifying the mother-tongue.[1] So little did his classical studies render him indifferent to his own language, that he composed songs in German, which he was wont to sing to the

[1] *De Arte impressoria*, fol. 17; Reuchlin, pp. 66, 67.

accompaniment of the zither. He was a profound and thorough student of philosophy, and his philosophical writings are remarkable for the sharpness of their definitions and the clearness of their language. He was also conversant with natural history and medicine, and in the last years of his life he turned to the study of Hebrew, gave instruction in this language to several gifted young lads, and completed a translation of the Psalms from the original text.

But his chief power lay not so much in his comprehensive knowledge and acquirements as in his personal labours and his unremitting exertions for the revival of classic literature. He effected in this respect for Germany what Petrarch accomplished for Italy. He was the first to publish in Germany a Life of that great Italian Humanist. 'We are indebted to Petrarch,' he says, 'for the intellectual culture of our century. All ages owe him a debt of gratitude—antiquity for having rescued its treasures from oblivion, and modern times for having founded and revived culture, which he has left as a precious legacy to future ages.' There were several points of resemblance between these two men. Like Petrarch, Agricola was possessed of a continual desire to travel, and he had the same horror of public posts; he wished only for a life of undisturbed study and freedom to sow the seeds of his new culture. Like Petrarch, too, he was an ardent lover of his Fatherland, and he strove ever to strengthen the German nation in the consciousness of its own worth and importance. But in his profound Christian conception of life as a whole, and in the purity of his morals, he far surpassed the founder of the Italian school of Humanists. 'Therein,' says Wimpheling, 'lies Agricola's true great-

ness, that all the learning and all the wisdom of this world were only serviceable to him for cleansing himself from all his passions, and labouring prayerfully at that great building of which God Himself is the master-builder.' In all his writings there is nothing on which he dwells with such insistence—especially in his letters—as the supreme importance of sincere faith, moral purity, and the union of piety with knowledge. His circular (*Sendschreiben*) letters to his friend Barbirianus, in which he communicates his opinions, derived from study and experience, of the best course of instruction and the end and aim of culture, are among the pearls of pedagogic literature. He recommends most strongly the study of the ancient philosophers, historians, orators, and poets, with the added warning, however, not to be content with the ancients only. 'For the ancients either did not know the true end of life at all, or only guessed at it dimly—seeing it as through a cloud, so that they rather discoursed about it than were persuaded of it. We must therefore,' he continues, 'ascend a step higher, to the Holy Scriptures, which scatter all darkness, perplexity, and bewilderment; on them we must order our lives according to their teaching, and build up our salvation by their guidance.'

The contemporaries of Agricola speak with reverence of the blamelessness of his life, of his peaceable disposition, his modesty, affability, and childlike simplicity. He died in the arms of Johann von Dalberg, bishop of Worms, on October 27, 1485, and was buried at Heidelberg, in the habit of St. Francis.

Agricola was not himself a professor or schoolmaster, but he had great influence in the education of Hegius, one of the greatest scholars of the century.

'When a man of forty years old,' Hegius writes of himself, 'I came to the young Agricola, from whom I have learned all that I know, or rather all that others think that I know.'

Alexander Hegius, born in the village of Heeck, in the province of Münster, educated at the school of the 'Brethren of the Social Life,' was the rector of the gymnasium at Wesel, on the Lower Rhine, from 1469 to 1474. He then undertook for about a year the direction of the flourishing school of Emmerich, after which, from 1475, Deventer became the field of his most fruitful labours. Erasmus ranks him among the restorers of pure Latin scholarship, and tells us that, though he was not sufficiently careful of his own reputation as a writer, his works are nevertheless, according to the judgment of all learned men, worthy of immortality. His pupil, John Murmellius, says that he was as great a master of Greek as of Latin, and continually urged on his scholars the study of that language, which in those days was not much in vogue in Germany.[1]

Hegius enjoys the undisputed credit of having purged and simplified the school curriculums, of improving or getting rid of the old school-books, of making the classics the central point of the instruction of youth, and of giving to school education a bias which transformed it into the means of fresh spiritual life. Students from far and near flocked in hundreds to his lecture-halls, and countless is the number of those in

[1] Concerning the acquirements of Hegius in Greek, his services as poet, and his opposition to the earlier instructional books of the Middle Ages, see Reichling's *Beiträge*, pp. 287–303, and his admirable treatise on Murmellius, pp. 5–15. See also Paulsen's *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 42. 'Qui Græce nescit,' writes Hegius, 'nescit quoque doctus haberi.'

whom he inspired not only a love of study, but enthusiasm also for the noble but most difficult vocation of teaching.

The strong power of attraction in this man lay preeminently, as with Agricola, in his lofty and pious character, his strong moral rectitude, his beautiful simplicity and modesty, his virgin purity of mind.

'By the beauty of his piety Hegius was as a shining light unto the people; by the compass of his learning and the greatness of his genius he was foremost among the ranks of the learned.' Thus wrote his pupil, Johannes Butzbach, in his 'Wanderbüchlein,' in which he records with such simplicity and freshness the impressions and experiences of his school-days at Deventer. He paints Hegius as a thoroughgoing German of the good old stock, simple, honest, and loving, a very father to his pupils, particularly to those of small means, to whom he gave away what he received from the well-to-do. He himself retained his thirst for learning to an extreme old age. In the last years of his life he undertook a journey to Sponheim in order to make acquaintance with the magnificent library of the Abbot Trithemius; and on his return he recounted to his assembled pupils, 2,200 in number, with what unbounded pleasure he had contemplated all this immense collection of books, and how the reality had even surpassed his expectations.

At an advanced age he joined the priesthood. When he died, on December 27, 1498, the poor of Deventer, among whom he had secretly and gradually doled out the whole of his considerable fortune, followed his coffin with weeping and lamentation. He left nothing but his books and his clothes behind him.

It has been said that the Germans may well be proud of the learned piety, singular modesty, and fruitful energy of Hegius; for, at a time when Italy could boast of so many brilliant scholars, he was the solitary ray that illumined the beginnings of classical culture in the Fatherland. But Hegius was by no means an isolated example in this respect among the learned professors of his time. His fundamental principle, 'All learning gained at the expense of religion is only pernicious,' was adhered to by nearly all those teachers who either laboured contemporaneously with him as promoters of classical studies, or continued the work as his pupils and disciples. Many of these, such as the Westphalians Rudolph von Langen, Ludwig Dringenberg, Conrad Goclenius, Tilmann Kamener, Joseph Horlenius, won great esteem in popular education and science. Among the German principalities, Westphalia undeniably took the lead in care for education. 'No other race of mortal men,' wrote Erasmus once to Sir Thomas More, 'deserves such praise for its perseverance in labour, for its believing spirit, for its moral purity, for its simple cleverness and its clever simplicity as the Westphalians.'

'Such abundant grace has been poured out over this land,' says Werner Rolewinck, 'that when once it has received the Faith it has never fallen back. Nowhere do we read of any school of heretics springing up there. Whether with regard to religious faith or purity of morals, it will always be found that Westphalia, by the grace of God, has ever been abundantly supplied. In the labour of the hand as in the preaching of the Word, in the study of the sciences as in administering the Sacraments, in monastic discipline

as in ruling the State, in general morality as in private humanity, they have taken on themselves the apostleship of the whole world. They are a simple, upright, long-suffering people. As for the learned sciences,' Rolewinck goes on to say, 'I doubt if there be any one field which the Westphalians have not attacked. This one dives into the great mysteries of theology, another lays down the canons of law, a third masters the intricacies of civil rights; some apply themselves to the study of medicine, others devote all their energies to art, poetry, history, or science, &c.' They had also the character of being a very wandering race. Like the Florentines amongst the Italians, they were called the 'fifth element' because they were always to be found wheresoever the other four existed. To one of these wandering Westphalians, Ludwig Dringenberg, who laboured as an apostle of education, Alsatia, according to Wimpheling, is indebted for a great part of its culture. To another, Rudolph von Langen, who after long wanderings in Italy returned to his own country, Westphalia owes the flower of its own schools.

This latter was, like the above-mentioned collegiate provost, educated at Deventer, the first Latin poet of taste in Germany and the reformer of the school system of Westphalia. Through his influence Münster enjoyed a period of high intellectual vitality. Supported by several of the canons of the cathedral, and by the four other colleges, Langen raised the cathedral school of Münster to such a high standard that it was attended not only by the youth of Westphalia, the Netherlands, and the Rhine Provinces, but by students from Saxony and Pomerania also; and it

acquired a position of prominent educational influence throughout North-western Germany. It became a prolific training establishment of able and excellent teachers, who in a very short time were actively at work in many towns of Westphalia and the Rhine, and in the north as far as Goslar, Rostock, Lübeck, Greifswalde, and Copenhagen.

The cathedral school of Münster owed its reputation and standing chiefly to Johannes Murmellius, whom Langen had appointed as his co-rector, and who gained a distinguished place as philosopher, pedagogic writer, scholar, and Latin poet among the revivers of classical studies and the reformers of school systems. He, too, laboured in the spirit of his master, Hegius. 'The aim of all study,' he writes, 'should be nothing else than the knowledge and glorification of God. Those only are wise indeed who apply themselves to study in order that they may learn to live well themselves, and may help others by their learning in the practice of justice and piety. Nothing is more dangerous than a man who is both learned and wicked. Complete ignorance is better than learning combined with sin.' His labours as author, over and above grammar and lexicography, were specially devoted to the editing of Latin works, not those of the classic writers only, but later Christian writers. He wrote twenty-five books of instruction, several of which were used for centuries long in the schools of Germany and Holland. At his instigation Johann Cæsarius was summoned to Münster in 1512, and he inaugurated lectures on the Greek language.

Among Rudolph Langen's learned friends was the Count Moritz von Spiegelberg, who was also for some years a student at Deventer, and who finished his

education in Italy. As provost at Emmerich, on the Rhine, he was a zealous promoter of education and classical studies.

The greatest cordiality existed in the intercourse between the teachers of these different schools, whether newly established ones or old ones improved. Professors from Münster were sent to the school at Emmerich, professors from Emmerich to the neighbouring towns of Xanten and Wesel. The attendance at these schools was very considerable. In Emmerich, the school under the direction of Lambert von Venray numbered four hundred and fifty Latin scholars in the year 1510, in Xanten and Wesel two hundred and thirty. Even in the little town of Frankenberg, in Hesse, the school under James Horle had nearly one hundred and eighty students.

The Swiss Heinrich Bullinger, who attended the school at Emmerich from 1516 to 1519, says that he was there instructed in the first rudiments of Donatus and the Latin Grammar of Aldus Manutius. 'In addition to this,' he writes, 'were the daily exercises at school and at home. Every day we had to decline, analyse, and conjugate. There were daily readings of selections from Pliny and Cicero, extracts from Virgil and Horace, poems from the "Baptista Mantuanus," and letters from Jerome and others. Each week a letter had to be written. Latin was invariably spoken.' He was also taught there the rudiments of Greek and dialectics. Strict discipline was enforced, and great attention paid to religion.

In the school of Xanten, the chaplain, Adam Potken, gave instruction in the Greek language after the year 1496, and in company with several canons pursued

daily studies in Hebrew, for which his friend Sebastian Murrho, a most accomplished Hebrew scholar, procured him books from Colmar. Later on, Potken was appointed professor of Greek at one of the eleven Latin schools of Cologne, which were connected with the eleven foundations there, and often numbered some of the ablest men among their teachers. While at Cologne he lodged with his relative, Johann Potken, provost of St. George's, a learned Orientalist, who had learned the Ethiopian language in Rome, and was the author of the first book printed in Europe in Ethiopian characters.

Great demands were made on the boys under instruction; for instance, Adam Potken read Virgil's 'Æneid' and Cicero's speeches with scholars of twelve years old. Johann Eck (born in 1466) went through a comprehensive Greek and Latin course in the schoolhouse of his uncle, a simple country pastor, between his ninth and twelfth years. The particulars that have come down to us relative to his school instruction are of general interest and value to educationalists. The old and the new writers were all in turn expounded to the boy—the fables of Æsop, a comedy from Aretinus, an elegy of Alda (?), a treatise, attributed to Seneca, on the four cardinal virtues, Gasperin's letters, a hymn of Gerson's in honour of St. Joseph, two works of Boethius, St. Jerome's preface to the Bible, Terence, and the first six books of the 'Æneid.' He was even expected at this early age to acquire some knowledge of philosophy and jurisprudence. He relates that he was 'put through the five treatises. After dinner,' he writes, 'I used to read to my uncle from the books of Moses and the historical books of the Old Testament,

the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles. I also read a work on "the four last things," on the nature of souls, a portion of St. Augustine's discourses to hermits, Augustine of Ancona's work on the power of the Church, an introduction to the study of jurisprudence; my uncle's assistant priests explained the Gospels of the Sundays and the feast days to me, Cicero's treatise on Friendship, St. Basil's introduction to the study of Humanities, and Homer's "Siege of Troy." ' Eck also read many Latin and German books by himself. Thus prepared, he entered the University of Heidelberg in 1493 at the age of thirteen, and two years later received at Tübingen the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Examples of this early academic precocity are frequently met with. Johannes Müller, the mathematician and astronomer from Königsberg in Franconia, entered the University of Leipsic at the age of twelve, and in his sixteenth year received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Vienna. Johann Reuchlin and Geiler of Kaisersberg began their university studies at the age of fifteen. Johann Spieshaimer, styled Cuspinianus, in his eighteenth year lectured in the Vienna High School on Virgil, Horace, Lucian, Sallust, and Cicero; three years later he became professor of philosophy, oratory, and art, and at twenty-seven he was chosen rector of the university.

It may truly be said that for many centuries there had never been such an eager craving for the treasures of knowledge as prevailed at that period: there was the most zealous industry in earliest youth, and insatiable thirst for learning up to the most advanced age. In the school and in the home there reigned a discipline in every sense proportionate to a strong and hardy race.

The rod was supreme. Even the Emperor Maximilian often received a good sound beating from the hands of his teachers.

The important part which the rod played in those days may be seen from a seal, still in existence, of the school of the city of Hoxter, which represents a schoolmaster, dressed in a full robe and round cap, swinging the rod with his right hand over the head of a boy kneeling before him, while he holds his head up by the chin with his left hand. In many places the so-called 'Procession of the Rod' was held annually. Led by the teachers, and accompanied by half the town, the schoolboys went into the woods, where they themselves procured the materials for their own castigation. When this was done they amused themselves with gymnastic feats and other sports under the trees, and ended up with a feast, given by their parents and teachers, and then returned to the town, laughing and joking and laden with the instruments for their punishment. Here is a specimen of a song composed for such an occasion :

Ihr Väter und ihr Mütterlein,
Nun sehend, wie wir gehn herein,
Mit Birkenholz beladen,
Welches uns wohl dienen kann,
Zu nutz und nit zu schaden.
Euer Will und Gott's Gebot
Uns dazu getrieben bot,
Dass wir jetzt unsere Ruthe
Ueber unserm eignen Leib
Tragen mit leichtem Muthe.

From all which we see that, in spite of the terror which the rule of the rod spread among the young folk, there was also plenty of unrestrained mirth and fun in the school life. This showed itself also in the frequent theatrical representations, and the festivals of all sorts

which were arranged on saints' days and at Christmas time.

The flourishing school of Schlettstadt, called the Pearl of Alsace, under the direction of Ludwig Dringenberg, was more important than any we have yet mentioned. It was one of the first in Germany in which the history of the Fatherland was zealously studied side by side with the classics, and it often numbered from seven to eight hundred pupils, among whom were Johannes von Dalberg, Geiler of Kaisersberg, and 'Germany's teacher,' James Wimpheling.

Wimpheling, born at Schlettstadt in 1450, was one of the most influential and attractive characters of the Middle Ages. He was not, it is true, of so peaceable or imperturbable a disposition as an Agricola or a Hegius, so lifted up above all that is earthly; on the contrary, he was harsh and bitter in argument, often imprudent and tactless in speech, and, as he himself says, not unfrequently soured by ill health and overwork; but, in spite of these defects, his noble and disinterested labours, his unwearying zeal as a teacher and writer, and his constant readiness to do good, won him the hearts of his contemporaries.[1] Wimpheling was a publisher as well as a scholar, and by his strong moral sense, his unswerving love of truth, and his patriotism, he gave proof of his fitness for this new field of literary industry.

His literary and scientific achievements had for their sole aim and object the perfection of his own nature, the elevation of the people in all classes, the reform of ecclesiastical abuses, and the glory of the Fatherland. 'Of what use,' he asks, 'are all the books

[1] Riegger, *Amœnitates Literariæ Friburgenses*, fasc. 2 and 3; Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace*, i. 188.

in the world, the most learned writings, the profoundest researches, if they only minister to the vainglory of their authors, and do not, or cannot, advance the good of mankind? Such barren, useless, injurious learning as proceeds from pride and egotism serves to darken understanding and to foster all evil passions and inclinations; and if these govern the mind of an author, his works cannot possibly be good in their influence. What profits all our learning if our characters be not correspondingly noble, all our industry without piety, all our knowledge without love of our neighbour, all our wisdom without humility, all our studying if we are not kind and charitable?' He looked upon education as the noblest field of labour, 'for the better education of the young is the foundation of all true reform, ecclesiastical, national, and domestic.'

In the dedication of his educational writings to his friend, Georg von Gemmingen, provost of the cathedral of Spires, he writes: 'The true foundation of our religion, the basis of all worthy life, the one ornament in any position, the prosperity of the State, the certain victory over intemperance and passions—all depend on a careful and intelligent training of the young.'

To this training of youth the labour of his life was devoted. As Alexander Hegius—whose name he mentions with reverence—was the greatest German schoolman of his century, so Wimpheling was the most distinguished educational writer, one of the most famous restorers of an enlightened system of education from a Christian standpoint. Reuchlin looked upon him as a pillar of religion, and after his death Beatus Rhenanus said that no one in Germany had ever been such a friend and promoter of the education of the young and their

progress in science as Wimpheling. Following the example of Æneas Sylvius, who before his elevation to the Papal chair exercised considerable influence on the intellectual life of Germany, he endeavoured to kindle among the nobility, and the princes especially, a desire for mental culture.[1]

Among Wimpheling's educational writings (of which nearly twenty thousand copies were sold up to 1520) there are two of the greatest importance. In one of these, which appeared in 1497, under the title of 'Guide for the German Youth,' he points out clearly and convincingly the defects of the earlier systems of education, shows how by right methods the pupil's progress may the more readily and effectually be insured, and gives a number of golden rules and lessons for mastering the ancient languages. This work does not deal only with the curriculum of study, but with the whole school life and with the qualifications of the teacher, &c. It is the first thoroughly adequate book of the kind published in Germany, a truly national work, and one which deserves the praise and gratitude of all ages. Wimpheling's second work on the ethics of education, 'Die Jugend,' published in 1500, belongs to what may be called the great epoch-making writings of the world.

The old schoolmen and educationalists proceeded on the principle that it was not sufficient merely to develop the natural faculties and dispositions of children, but that care should be taken to ennoble and perfect them. They aimed at inspiring the pupils entrusted to their care with a love of study and of industry, and at educating them for the work of life. While giving

[1] Wimpheling's *Adolescentia*, cap. 7, and his letter to his friend Friedrich von Dalberg, in Wiskowatoff, 79.

themselves heart and soul to the study of the Greek and Latin masterpieces, they were careful that admiration for the poetical beauty of the language should not distract the mind from contemplation of the deep and edifying truths which it conveyed. The study of Greek and Latin should not be confined to the learning of words, but should be the means of strengthening and disciplining thought. As Wimpheling said, 'Let cultivation be for the quickening of independent thought.'

As in the Netherlands, Westphalia, and along the Rhine, so too in South Germany, education spread and flourished during the later part of the fifteenth century. Nuremberg and Augsburg were here the intellectual centres. In the first of these towns there were at the beginning of the sixteenth century four Latin schools which, owing to the exertions of the learned patrician Wilibald Pirkheimer and the provost Johann Kress, had in many respects attained a first-rate standing by the year 1509. A school of poetry was also established in 1515 under the direction of Johann Cochläus, the professor of classics, who was born at Wendelstein in the year 1479.

In conjunction with Pirkheimer and Kress, Cochläus compiled several school-books, notably a Latin grammar, which went through several editions, and by its clearness and conciseness gained the approval of able scholars.

He also compiled a compendium of the 'Mathematical Geography' of Pomponius Mela, and a commentary on the 'Meteorology' of Aristotle, which he made the foundation of his method of teaching natural philosophy.

Outside the Mark of Brandenburg there was scarcely

a single large town in Germany in which, at the end of the fifteenth century, in addition to the already existing elementary national schools, new schools of a higher grade were not built or old ones improved.

The ultimate control of the town schools was usually in the hands of the municipal authorities; but these institutions were also closely connected with the Church, not only because most of the masters belonged to the clerical profession, but because the supervision was either practically left to the clergy or formally made over to them.

School rates as well as poor rates were then unknown. Even those schools which were under the jurisdiction of the magistrates were kept up by the fees received and by frequent new legacies; for the education of the young was counted also among those works of mercy to which money might liberally be given in obedience to the Church's doctrine of 'good works.'

Libraries were also founded in this same spirit. Thus, for example, the master-joiner Matthew Holthof in the year 1485 left his house and garden to a community of Brothers, who were to 'use the profit thence derived for the purchase of good Christian books, which should tend to the salvation of the readers,' and these readers were to pray for the 'poor soul of the founder.' In 1477 a tinker at Frankfort-on-the-Main left the then considerable sum of thirty-five gold guldens to the library of the Carmelite convent there, in order that 'books for the honour of God and His blessed Mother, and for the use of the common people, might more easily be procured.' Another citizen of Frankfort in 1484 paid for the foundation of the town library. In 1460 the Rathsfrau Catherine Medeborg founded a library

in connection with the Marienkirche in Dantzic, which 'was to be inspected at least once a year by the Churchwardens.' In Ulm as early as the year 1450 a library for public use had been started by a private family. This was probably the first of the kind in Germany.

Next to the clergy, the burgher classes were the strongest pillars of learning and education. But the nobility also gave willing support to the intellectual revival; and, indeed, many leading scholars of the day belonged to this class, such as Moritz von Spiegelberg, Rudolph von Langen, and Johann von Dalberg. Out of the one Franconian noble family of Von Eyb seven or eight members had the 'Doctor's cap' conferred on them at Padua or Pavia. In the records of the University of Erfurt during the fifteenth century we find that twenty of its rectors belonged to the first nobility.

Enthusiasm for the 'New Learning' spread also to the women of Germany. In the Rhine Provinces and the South German towns especially, the number of ardent female students was quite remarkable. Johann Butzbach, the author, in 1505, of a still unprinted history of literature, mentions, among other distinguished female contemporaries, Gertrude von Coblentz, Superioress of the Novices of the Augustinian convent of Vallendar, a young woman of great ability, and conspicuous alike for her intellect and learning and for her piety and virtue. He also mentions Christina von der Leyen, a member of the Augustinian convent of Marienthal, and Barbara von Dalberg, niece of the Bishop of Worms, who belonged to the Benedictines of Marienberg, near Boppard, and was also active in the field of literature.

Butzbach dedicated his book to the Benedictine nun Aleydis Raiskop, of Goch, who was renowned for her classical scholarship, and he places her in the same rank as Roswitha, Hildegard, and Elizabeth von Schönau. Aleydis composed seven homilies on St. Paul, and translated a book on the Mass from Latin into German. Contemporaneously with her there lived in the same convent the artist-nun, Gertrude von Büchel, to whom Butzbach dedicated a work, 'Celebrated Painters.' Richmondis von der Horst, abbess of the Convent of Seebach, kept up a Latin correspondence on spiritual matters with Trithemius, who speaks eulogistically of her as the author of various writings. Of the nun Ursula Cantor, Butzbach declares that for knowledge of theological matters, of the fine arts, and also for eloquence and *belles-lettres*, her equal had not been seen for centuries. Another highly educated woman of good position was Margaret von Staffel, wife of the deputy (*Vitzthum*) Adam von Allendorf. Like the Duchess Hedwig von Suabia, she read the classics in the original with her house chaplain, and wrote Latin and German poetry and prose essays; also a Life of St. Bernard and of St. Hildegard in verse. Catherine von Ostheim, who was learned in history, also belonged to the fifteenth century; she compiled an abridged version of the 'Chronicles of Limburg.'

Among the learned women of South Germany the Nuremberg abbess, Charity Pirkheimer, stands pre-eminent. Her letters and memoirs give noble evidence of sincere piety, lofty intelligence, and heroic character. The lawyer Christopher Scheurl writes: 'All who are appreciative or intelligent admire the penetration, learning, and nobility of character of the Abbess of

Nuremberg.' Her sister Clara, who lived in the same convent, was celebrated for her learning and piety. Their contemporaries speak of both with patriotic pride.

We must next mention the nun Clarissa Apollonia Tucher, whom Christopher Scheurl calls 'the crown of her convent, a lover of God's worship, a mirror of virtue, a pattern and example to the sisterhood.' Apollonia was the niece of the Nuremberg lawyer Sixtus Tucher, one of the ornaments for a time of the University of Ingolstadt, and no less valuable in his later capacity of Imperial and Papal councillor. From the year 1497 he resided at Nuremberg as Provost of St. Lawrence, where his blameless priestly life and his Christian benevolence were an example to everyone. The letters which he exchanged with Apollonia and her bosom friend, Charity, appeal to the reader by the depth and elevation of their sentiments, and are touching examples of true Christian Humanism, which cannot separate knowledge from faith or learning from religion, and, as the best safeguard against the pride of intellect, clings fast to that beautiful motto of Trithemius: 'To know is to love.'

Sixtus encourages his women friends to zealous study, and does not conceal his joyous wonder at he 'intellectual and artistic aptitude of the female sex.' 'But,' he adds once in a letter to Charity, warning her with fatherly solicitude, 'I would not that you should seek vain praise for your learning, but that you should ascribe it to Him from Whom every good and perfect gift proceeds. To His praise and glory, for your sisters' need, and for your own salvation, you should use the gifts bestowed on you, not forgetting the golden words

of the Apostle: "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."'

As worthy contemporaries of these women of Nuremberg may be mentioned two distinguished Augsburg ladies—the learned Prioress Veronica Welser, to whom the elder Holbein dedicated one of his best pictures, and Margaret Welser, the faithful companion and associate in the studies of her husband, Conrad Peutinger, the highly esteemed Humanist and antiquary.

Among the German Princesses, Matilda, daughter of the Count Palatine Louis III., was specially esteemed as a 'great lover of all the arts.' She made a collection of ninety-four works of the old Court poetry; she delighted in the old national folk-songs of her country, and encouraged the 'making of new poetry after the ancient methods.' It was under her patronage that the translations of the Würtemberg Chancellor, Nicholas von Wyle, were accomplished, and at her instigation also that the University of Freiburg, in Breisgau, was founded by her second husband, Archduke Albert of Austria, and that of Tübingen by the son of her first marriage, Count Eberhard von Würtemberg.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER CENTRES OF LEARNING

ALL the men whose work has hitherto been described, pursued, whether as writers or as teachers, the same high aim of making the treasures of learning the common property of the whole nation, and of promoting the reform of Church and State by careful attention to the instruction and education of the young and by the enlightenments of science. Similar results were aimed at by the universities, those centres of universal learning, which at no other period of German history have ever had such enthusiastic and self-sacrificing support lavished on them as in the fifty years from 1460 to 1510, and which at no other period made such tremendous strides in the way of progress. Endowments without end were made in favour of these institutions by men of all conditions—by the clergy of higher or lower degree, by princes and nobles, by burghers and peasants; and legacies innumerable were bequeathed for the benefit of needy students, to whom it was desired that the advantages of learning should be made as accessible as to the wealthy.

While the Universities of Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic, and Rostock had already reached a high state of development, nine new ones were founded in Germany within the space of fifteen years—viz. that of Greifswald in 1456, those of Basle

and Freiburg in 1460, of Ingolstadt in 1472, of Treves in 1473,[1] of Tübingen and Mayence in 1477, of Wittenberg in 1402, and of Frankfort-on-the-Oder in 1506.

These universities were meant to be not only the highest schools of secular, but also of religious learning. They were to serve for the protection and propagation of the faith. Hence in most cases their charters were derived from the Pope; but the Emperors also, as the champions of Christendom, enjoyed the right (of which they often made use) of establishing similar institutions. From the nature of their constitution the universities were recognised as ecclesiastical authorities. Their whole organisation was permeated with the clerical spirit.

It was held that there were two orders of science—the natural, which comprises everything that can be grasped by reason, and the supernatural, which comprises all the truths made known by revelation—and that both these should be cultivated in the universities. As the Church is a living unity, which takes in the whole being of man and encompasses the highest dignity of human nature, so must science also strive towards living unity and towards that which is the central point of all higher life; it must return to God, to the original source whence it proceeded. No disciple of learning must work for selfish ends. No one branch of knowledge must be considered as an end in itself or be made an idol of, but all must be subservient together as

[1] Not in 1472, as is generally stated; see Marx, ii. 459. In Treves, besides the university, there was a college under the charge of the 'Brethren of the Social Life,' in which theology and philosophy were taught. In the year 1499 the Archbishop John II. granted this college the privilege of conferring, after an examination, the degrees of A.B. and LL.D. as from the university (Marx, ii. 470).

teachers of Divine truth, as handmaids in the temple of faith. Where pride and lust prevail, learning cannot flourish. The four principal branches of science—Theology, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Medicine—were compared to the four rivers of Paradise, whose destination was to carry the blessings of fruitfulness to all the countries of the earth, for the rejoicing of all peoples and for the glory of God.

It was in this sense that the Archduke Albert of Austria, on the occasion of the founding of the University of Freiburg, called the universities 'the wells of life, from which men drew living waters of refreshment and healing to wash away the corrupting zeal of the false reason and blindness of mankind.' The same sentiment made the Duke Louis of Bavaria assert in the charter of Ingolstadt: 'Of all the blessings vouchsafed by God to man in this transitory life, learning and art are among the greatest, for through them the path to a good and holy life may be learned. Human reason is enlightened by true knowledge and trained to right action. Christian faith is promulgated, justice and universal prosperity advanced.' Eberhard of Würtemberg, again, says in the foundation deed of the University of Tübingen: 'I know of nothing that can be more conducive to salvation, or more pleasing to God, than helping industrious young men of small means to be educated in the arts and sciences, so that they may learn to know God, to honour and serve Him alone.'

In the Bull for the foundation of the University of Basle, Pope Pius II. speaks thus beautifully on the true end of science: 'Among the different blessings which by the grace of God mortals can attain to in this earthly life, it is far from the least that, by persevering study, a man

can make himself master of those pearls of science and learning which point the way to a good and useful life, and place the learned far above the ignorant. Furthermore, education brings man to a nearer likeness of God, and enables him to read clearly the secrets of the universe. True education and learning lift the meanest of earth to a level with the highest.' 'For this reason,' continues the Pope, 'the Holy See has always encouraged the sciences and contributed to the establishment of places of learning, in order that men might be enabled to acquire this precious treasure, and, having acquired it, might spread it among their fellow-men.' It was his ardent desire 'that one of these life-giving fountains should be established in Basle, so that all who wished might drink their fill at the waters of learning.' The same Pope had long before written to the Duke of Bavaria: 'The Apostolic See wishes for the greatest possible spread of learning, which, unlike all the other good things of this life that are diminished by division, increases more and more abundantly the more widely it is distributed.'

The annals of the various universities show how zealously the majority of the clergy acted on the Pope's exhortation to follow the study of science. Among the 1,200 students entered at Basle during the first ten years after its opening there was a large number of high dignitaries of the Church. In the first year after the opening of the University of Freiburg also, by far the greater number of its 234 students were of the clerical profession.[1] That university studies were

[1] Schreiber, i. 30, 31. For information with regard to the clergy at the universities, see 'Die Mittheilungen von Falk,' in the *Hist. Polit.* Bl. 78, 923–928; and for Cistercian monks studying at the universities,

encouraged and patronised by many Church institutions is shown by the much larger number of students who came from those towns where there were religious foundations and monasteries than from other towns.[1] The clergy were also by far the most generous in contributing means for the support of the universities. The Popes especially helped in many ways. It is well known that more than one university could not have continued were it not for the income accorded in various ways by the Popes: for instance, the University of Ingolstadt, by grants from the Popes and by the support of the clergy, was in receipt of an income which, at the present value of money, would be fifty thousand florins yearly.[2]

The universities of the Middle Ages were among the grandest creations of the Christian spirit in the freshness and strength of its youthful development.

They were the repositories of the highest scientific culture, the most powerful agents in its promotion, and the centres of the intellectual life of the nation. But they were also, as Wimpheling expresses it, 'the best beloved and most cherished daughters of the Church,

see Winter, *Die Cistercienser*, iii. 48–83. At his own expense Sebald Bamberger, abbot of the monastery of Heilbronn, near Ansbach, sent eight monks to study for degrees at Heidelberg (Muck, *Kloster Heilsbronn*, i. 232). In 1510 the Augustinian order at Leipsic erected for its members a house of study (Falk, *Ergänzungen*, p. 397; Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, pp. 15, 16).

[1] See Paulsen, *Gründung &c. der Universitäten*, pp. 309, 310.

[2] Prankl, i. 19. 'The Papal court always lent its aid to the universities.' All unprejudiced inquirers into the intellectual conditions of the fifteenth century, even those whose principles made them inimical to Roman Catholicism, admit that the Popes were foremost in encouraging and endowing the universities (Hautz, pp. 42–44; Meiners, *Geschichte der hohen Schulen*, pp. 2–8; Raumer, p. 10). With reference to Rostock, see Krabbe, pp. 162–164; for Cologne, see Ennen, iii. 871. See also the documents in the second volume of Kosegarten's *Geschichte der Universität Greifswalde* (Greifswalde, 1856).

who in love and allegiance strove to make grateful return for what they owed their mother.' Hence the double fact that so long as the unity of the Church and Faith remained intact the universities continued at the height of prosperity, and that at the time of the schism they almost all, with the exception of Wittenberg and Erfurt, ranged themselves loyally on the side of the Church. It was only by violence, when their original ecclesiastical and corporate constitutions were wrested from them, that they were forced into the new doctrines, and they only made common cause with these when their liberty was infringed and they had sunk to mere State institutions.

The universities of the Middle Ages were free and independent corporations; the basis of their success lay in the untrammelled freedom of curriculum both for masters and scholars. Independent of the State and of each other, they were spurred on by active and fruitful emulation. As in the different trade guilds the masters and apprentices were bound together in a compact body governed by its own laws and independent of outside influence, so the universities had their own separate codes and regulations, and their government was entirely within their own jurisdiction. The members were amenable only to their university code, which afforded complete protection; they paid no taxes, and were accorded many privileges as tokens of respect to their learning.[1] There was perfectly free competition between the different teachers at nearly all the universities, and

[1] In 1445 the Leipsic professor, Johann Kone, declared in a public speech delivered before the Duke of Saxony: 'No king or minister has the right to interfere with our freedom and privileges. The university governs itself, changing and modifying its statutes according to its necessities' (Zarncke, *Documents*, 723).

the right possessed by every 'doctor' to teach gave rise to healthy emulation both between the teachers and the taught.[1]

As the period of study in the Middle Ages, after the pattern of antiquity, was prolonged into advanced years, we find not only young men studying at the universities, but men of ripe years and of standing and dignity—abbots, provosts, canons, and princes. The comradeship existing through the whole university body was very remarkable, students and professors being on equal terms. This was particularly the case in the philosophical Faculty—generally called 'the Faculty of Arts.' It was made up of men who had received the degree of 'Magister,' had reached the full years of manhood, and taught while they themselves still studied the higher branches.[1]

This invested the office of teacher with a delightful freshness and youthfulness, while it gave higher influence

[1] With reference to poor scholars, Paulsen says (pp. 438–440): 'Poverty was not in those days such a hindrance to learning as it is in ours. It ever found a helping hand.' In all the ecclesiastical establishments—that is to say, in all the public schools, gymnasiums, and universities—the poor (*die pauperes*, as the Vienna statutes express it) enjoyed the 'privilege of goodwill.' They were entitled not only to matriculation, but to attend the lectures and to graduate. All schools and universities had their endowments for the maintenance of poor scholars. In the intermediate schools it was quite allowable to solicit means to pay a pupil's expenses; and, indeed, this was not unknown in the universities. How could mendicancy be considered dishonourable while so many Orders adopted it as a rule? Riches were looked upon by the Church (and this view was well supported by the doctrine of the Gospel) as more dangerous than poverty to the avocation of learning. The expenses of tuition were often defrayed in part by services rendered to the teacher. No work for his teacher (manual labour was held in respect in the Middle Ages) was any more humiliating to the scholar than that of the page for his prince. This state of things made it possible for the ranks of the clergy to be recruited from the people, and left no position unrepresented in the priesthood.

and dignity to the condition of learner, traces of which we notice in the various university constitutions.

The international character of the universities gained them world-wide importance. What added stimulus and vigour must have been infused into intellectual competition by the presence—as for instance at Cologne—not only of Germans from every part of Germany, but of large numbers of most enthusiastic students from Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Livonia, congregated together in lecture-halls and vying with one another for academic honours! Thus, too, the greatest minds of each country were at the service of all. The University of Ingolstadt became in the very first decades of its existence one of the most important in Germany, and attracted within its walls numbers of students from Italy, France, Spain, England, Hungary, and Poland. Rostock, even after the foundation of the Universities of Upsala in 1477 and of Copenhagen in 1479, was still considered the real university of Scandinavia, and Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes figured in hundreds among its students. In Cracow there was a large number both of German students and German professors. It was between Italy and Germany that this international intercourse of intellect was most considerable after the middle of the fifteenth century. German professors taught in Italian universities, and Italians were occasionally appointed to German chairs. The number of German students at Bologna, Padua, and Pavia still remained very considerable even after the German universities were at their zenith. It is difficult to get at trustworthy statistics of the numerical attendance at the various universities. According to one account, that of Wimpheling, the University of Cologne, towards the close of

the fifteenth century, numbered 2,000 teachers and students. In that of Ingolstadt, during the first year after its opening, 800 students were enrolled. In the year 1492 the philosophical lectures were given by 33 different professors, and to those 47 more were added within another year. In 1490 the number of bachelors who had to read up Petrus Lombardus was so great that they could not meet at the same place and hour, but had to be taken in separate groups. The professors of philosophy at Vienna in 1453 numbered 82, and in 1476 there were 105 oral lecturers. Among the 770 students registered there in 1451, no less than 404 were from the Rhenish Provinces.[1] Never before or since did such enthusiasm for learning prevail in Germany. Berlin alone seemed to lag behind in the intellectual awakening.

In all the country districts, too, there was a mental stirring and awakening such as had never been known in Germany before and has never prevailed since. In the Mark of Brandenburg alone German culture had as yet taken little root. In his address at the founding of the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in 1503, the Elector Joachim said: 'A man of distinguished learning is as rare among us as a white crow.' In corroboration of this we add what Joachim's father said of the Mark of Brandenburg: 'There is no part of Germany where there are more murders, cruelty, and

[1] It would be very instructive to have the exact number of students from each province in Germany attending the universities; but accurate statistics in this respect are wanting. It is, however, known that from the Duchy of Hesse alone 1,832 students attended the three universities of Heidelberg, Leipsic, and Erfurt from 1451 to 1515 (Stolzel, xii. 42-44; Gredy, *Geschichte der ehemaligen freien Reichstadt Odernheim* (Mentz, 1883, p. 220).

quarrelling than in our Mark.' Trithemius, the abbot of Sponheim, who sojourned some time at the Court of Brandenburg, wrote thus from Berlin to a friend, October 20, 1505: 'Rarely do we find here a man with any bias for learning; through lack of education our people are mostly given over to feasting, drinking, and sloth.' Berlin did not possess a single printer before 1539, and it was not till one hundred and twenty years later that the first publisher settled there.

It was in the provinces of the Rhine that intellectual life was most vigorous during the last thirty years of the fifteenth and the first decade of the sixteenth centuries. Here more than elsewhere the universities were in close touch with popular education, and rested on a firm basis of efficient preparatory schools. Among the Rhenish universities, Cologne ranks first both in size, importance, and distinction. It was the principal educational centre, not only for the whole district of the Lower Rhine, for Westphalia, and for Holland, but hundreds of foreigners also—from Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Livonia—flocked there to quench their intellectual thirst. It cannot be a matter of surprise that the leading educational institution should have been coloured with a strong religious character in a town in which there were nineteen parish churches and over one hundred chapels, twenty-two monasteries and convents, eleven chapter-houses, and twelve hospitals under ecclesiastical supervision, a town of which it was said proverbially that more than one thousand Masses were daily celebrated there.

The old Scholastic method of study had uncircumscribed sway in this university, but careful attention

was at the same time bestowed on Humanistic studies. The university records prove that the foremost among the promoters of Humanities in Germany were either educated at Cologne or gave lectures there for a time. From 1484 the Italian William Raymond Mithridates had been active in teaching Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic there. In 1487 the Humanist Andreas Cantor, from Groningen, came there, and set to work to reform the study of the Latin language. From 1491 John Cæsarius, from Jülich, a pupil of Hegius and a distinguished classical scholar, laboured at spreading a fundamental knowledge of Greek. The Humanist movement obtained a large additional following after Erasmus of Rotterdam, in 1496, had gathered a circle of young disciples around him in Cologne. It had another zealous leader in the Friar Minor Diedrich Coelde, author of one of the oldest German Catechisms, and of various popular religious manuals.

Besides Cæsarius, two other pupils of Alexander Hegius, Bartholomew of Cologne and the Westphalian Ortwin Gratius, were active propagandists in Cologne. The first of these, famous even in Italy for his learning and enlightened taste, distinguished alike as philosopher and poet, had formerly been an active teacher at Deventer, where he had gained a high reputation. 'He is a man of great and refined intellect,' writes his pupil, Johann Butzbach, 'of remarkable eloquence, and distinguished in many branches of science. It is a source of wonder to all that a man like him, versed in all departments of knowledge, should study with the same industry and perseverance as an ignorant beginner, working late on into the night. Diligent scholars were all loved by him, and he was always ready to help and

befriend them. His pupils loved him, too, with deep devotion, and when their term of study came to an end, and they were obliged to take leave of him, it was with difficulty that they tore themselves away.

His friend Ortwin Gratius, the object of such unjust attack and ridicule in the 'Letters of Distinguished Men,' gave lectures in Cologne on Latin grammar and the ancient classics, and was also the literary adviser of the heirs of Quentel. He enjoyed friendly and literary intercourse with many celebrated contemporaries: with the Florentine poet Remaclus, the English lawyer William Harris, and with the famous Peter of Ravenna, whom Italy and Germany both agreed in describing as a 'Marvel of Jurisprudence.' The latter expressed in the warmest terms his reiterated thanks to Gratius for much kind assistance and encouragement in his scientific studies, and parted from him with deep regret; and when he returned home in 1508 from the Rhenish capital, where for a time he had conducted a course of lectures, he spoke warmly of his good fortune in having had the privilege of intercourse at Cologne with so many shining lights in theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and art. He took leave of the city with tears in his eyes. 'Farewell, happy Cologne! Farewell, thou sacred city, to which distance will prevent my ever returning, but which I shall daily see with my mind's eye!'

A permanent mark in the spread of the movement along the Rhine district was made at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the two Latin poets George Sibutus and Henry Glareanus. The latter received the laurel crown from the Emperor Maximilian at Cologne. Melanchthon records that, in his youth, philological and philosophical studies were zealously pursued in the

Rhenish university, and that first-rate men gave instruction there. Among the number of its learned professors the provost Henry Mangold, who had several times filled the office of rector of the university, was one of the most zealous promoters of classical studies. Even the two shining lights of the theological faculty, Theodore von Süstern and Arnold von Tungern, little as their own style had been formed on the classic models, maintained the most friendly relations with many of the young 'poets,' as the Humanists were called. In 1512, Herman von dem Busche prefaced a work of Tungern's by commendatory verses. Adam Potken cites, as promoters of classical studies, two learned men of the day, not belonging to the university, Adam Mayer, abbot of St. Martin (1499), celebrated for his writings on theology and canon law, as well as for his zeal in monastic reform, and Werner Rolewinck, prior of the Carthusians of Chartreuse, one of the most venerable personages at the end of the fifteenth century. Rolewinck's writings are mostly of a theological, mystic, ascetic, or devotional character. They consist chiefly of explanations of the Holy Scriptures, which from his earliest youth he had studied indefatigably. Among his various commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul there is one of six folio volumes. In his seventy-sixth year, in 1502, a few months before he was carried off by the plague while in the exercise of his priestly calling, he gave a course of public lectures on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and charmed his numerous audience, among whom were many university professors. But Rolewinck did not confine his studies to sacred subjects: he wrote treatises on the best form of government, on the origin of the nobility,

and on the treatment of the peasant classes. One of his most widely read works was an outline of the history of the world, which in the course of eighteen years, dating from 1474, ran through thirty editions, was translated six times into French, and was one of the first books printed in Spain. Rolewinck held firmly to the orthodox Six Ages, but at the same time affirmed the repetition of history as an historico-philosophical law; the succession of time is always repeated anew in the regular threefold change of superfluity, distress, and moderation.

How deeply the heart of this theologian and mystic could enter into the life of the people, and how warmly it could beat for the German Fatherland, especially for his native Westphalia, 'The Land of the Heroes,' is markedly shown in his book entitled 'On the Praise of Saxony, now called Westphalia.' The sketch he gives here of the manners and customs of his country-people surpasses in vivid and delightful picturing any description that exists of any other German race.

Rolewinck's works show a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the Fathers and of the old theologians, as well as of the chroniclers and historians of later times. They also give evidence of some degree of acquaintance with the classic writers.

There is, therefore, nothing surprising in Potken's affirmation that 'this universally admired Carthusian, this virtuous, saintly man, was a promoter of classic culture from a Christian standpoint.' This Carthusian house of Cologne, moreover, which stood out as a leading example of ascetic discipline in its complete renunciation of the world, sheltered a great number of learned monks zealous for science, of religious poets, of mystic

and ascetic writers—men like Herman Appeldorn (†1472), Heinrich von Birnbaum (†1473), Herman Grefken (†1480), Heinrich von Dissen (†1484), and, foremost of all, Rolewinck's most intimate friend, Peter Blomevenna, whose writings all breathe a spirit of pious enthusiasm and peaceful joy.

The second university of the Rhenish Provinces, that of Heidelberg, received a new impetus as early as the first half of the fifteenth century under Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., who, while provost of the Worms Cathedral, was appointed chancellor of the University of Heidelberg.

During the government of Frederic, Count Palatine (1452), comprehensive reforms were carried out, particularly with regard to philosophical studies. Among the Scholastic theologians it was the 'Realists,' here also, who came forward as open-minded promoters of scientific research and classical studies; while the 'Nominalists,' on the contrary, drew on themselves the reproach of barren dogmatism and philosophical hair-splitting. Peter Luder, the first Humanist who began a career of activity in Heidelberg, 1450, was warmly supported by two professors of theology and canon law. One of his pupils was the well-known chronicler and biographer of Frederic, Count Palatine, Matthew von Kemnat, who probably received his earliest education from the Italian Arriginus, one of the Humanists established in the neighbourhood of Culmbach.

The actual period of Heidelberg's greatest prosperity, however, dates from the year 1476, in the reign of Philip, Count Palatine (1476), who, himself a cultured scholar, used to assemble large numbers of men of learning at his Court, and who won great praise by his

generous encouragement of the arts and sciences. Count Philip specially encouraged the study of history, 'for,' said he, 'by this study we arrive at a knowledge of God and His dealings with mankind, and we come to see clearly that the succession of monarchies is ordained by His decree in order to preserve peace and order in the world.' It was at his instigation that Rudolph Agricola wrote his 'History of the World,' which was considered the first Humanist historical work. The publishing house which Trithemius wished to establish in Sponheim, for the purpose of collecting documents relative to German history, owed much to the protection of this prince.

The most influential friend of this university was Johann von Dalberg, of whom Agricola says: 'All that is best of what I have received or given, learnt or taught, I owe to this friend. Only those who know him intimately can appreciate the riches of his mind and the simplicity of his heart, his manly courage and childlike humility, his zeal for the glory of God and the advancement of science.'

Johann von Dalberg, the scion of a noble and ancient family, born at Oppenheim in the year 1455, had, at the age of fifteen, won the *baccalaureat* of liberal arts at the University of Erfurt; after which he had gone to Italy, where, by intercourse with Greek and Italian scholars, he acquired an accurate knowledge of the classical writings of antiquity. On his return home he was appointed curator of the Heidelberg University (in 1482) by Count Palatine Philip, and in the same year he was elected bishop of Worms and confirmed by the Pope. From that time forward he divided his work and his residence between Worms and Heidelberg, in

both which towns he became the centre of intellectual life. By the sterling excellence and self-forgetfulness of his whole nature, and by the force of enthusiasm which went out from him, he exercised a deep and lasting influence on widely extended circles. In him was verified the old saying that worth is always modest, true superiority always magnanimous, true culture always right-minded. He not only raised the university to a high standard during his lifetime, but laid the foundation of nearly all that on which its present fame rests. By his co-operation the first professorship of Greek was established there, and the world-renowned university library known by the name of the 'Palatine' owed its origin to him. He also collected a valuable private library of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew books, which he placed at the free disposal of all seekers after knowledge. Johann Reuchlin, whom Dalberg attracted to his neighbourhood, speaks of his collection as a unique treasure for Germany, and gratefully acknowledged the service it had been to him.

When Reuchlin (born in Pforzheim, 1455) came to Heidelberg (1496) he already ranked high among scholars. As a young man he had delivered lectures at Basle on Greek and Latin, which were listened to by crowded audiences of old and young. He had been one of the first in Germany to secure a permanent footing for Greek literature among the requisites of higher culture. He had attracted attention among the highest literary circles in Italy by his proficiency in the Greek language. His fame as a writer was also established. The Latin Dictionary which he had compiled at Basle when scarcely twenty years of age appeared nearly every year in a new edition. He had

translated two of the speeches of Demosthenes and a part of the 'Iliad' into German, several other Greek writers into Latin, and had completed a treatise on the four Greek dialects. In addition to all this he had held a prominent position at the Court of Count Eberhard of Würtemberg as a practising barrister, and conducted many important cases for his patron with honour, and had had distinctions of all sorts conferred on him. The Emperor Maximilian raised him to the rank of nobility, and created him Count Palatine of the Empire 'in consideration of his high merit and reputation.'

When, after the death of Count Eberhard, he took up his residence at Heidelberg for several years, he was nominated by Dalberg to the post of university librarian, and the Count Palatine, Philip, appointed him counsellor to the Electorate and first tutor to his sons. In 1493 he became professor of Hebrew, and embarked on his pioneer work in this direction. The knowledge of Hebrew had, however, by no means disappeared among Christians at the time of Reuchlin's advent. The decree of the Council of Vienne (1312), that at Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca there should be established, respectively, two professors of Hebrew and Chaldaic, and Arabic, had not been without influence in Germany. Guides to the study of Hebrew grammar were published by the Dominican Peter Schwarz, in 1477, and by the Minorite Conrad Pellican in 1503. Rudolph Agricola translated the Psalms from the original text. In Xanten, Cologne, Colmar, and Mayence, we find records of men zealously occupied with Hebrew studies. Lectures on Hebrew were given at Tübingen by the theologians Conrad Summenhart

and Paul Scriptoris, and at Freiburg by Gregory Reisch. Among the pupils of the latter was Johann Eck, who devoted himself for six years to the study of Hebrew. Arnold von Tungern—who, later on, was the opponent of Reuchlin—may also be mentioned among the students of Hebrew.

But to Reuchlin belongs the lasting credit of having established the study of Hebrew on a scientific basis in Germany. His Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary were the first complete contributions to this work.

Reuchlin's labours were animated by the same deep religious feeling as those of all the men whom we have been considering. To him also learning and science were only of value inasmuch as they supported and strengthened faith. As a true son of his mother, the Church, he submitted all his writings and teaching to her sole authority, and was ever ready to withdraw whatever, in her judgment, was erroneous.

His aim in his Hebrew researches and in his examination of the original text of the Old Testament was to furnish a wholesome antidote to the one-sided study of the classics. Hence it was of the highest importance, in his opinion, to impress on students the necessity of the study of Hebrew. 'The Hebrew language is considered barbarous,' he writes. 'Well, yes, fine periods and elegantly turned sentences are not to be found in it; but beauties of this sort are more for the *dilettanti* than for the learned. The Hebrew language is unadulterated, pure, concise, and brief. It is the language in which God spoke to man, and in which man conversed with the angels face to face. It is not necessary to possess the Castalian fountain or the tree of Dodona. In age it is surpassed by no other; outside the Hebrew

chronicles we have no records of humanity earlier than the siege of Troy, and the songs of Homer and Hesiod are a century and a half later. But, notwithstanding its antiquity, the Hebrew tongue is unequalled in richness: all other languages, poor and barren in comparison, draw from this one as from their fountain-head.'

Reuchlin's labours bore abundant fruit. While himself zealously serving the Church, he was in turn supported by the officers of the Church. We read now of an abbot of Ottobeuren applying to him for a Hebrew teacher for his monastery, now of a provost in Ror begging for explanations of some passages in his writings, now of a Dominican provincial leaving him a Hebrew manuscript for use during his lifetime. Monks also—such as the indefatigable Nicholas Ellenbog, to whom Ottobeuren later was indebted for the establishment of a university and a printing-house; William Schrader, of Camp, on the Lower Rhine, who devoted all his large fortune to the collecting of Hebrew manuscripts; Nicholas Basellius, of Hirsau, and many others—became his most devoted disciples and enthusiastic eulogists. Basellius said in 1501: 'Reuchlin not only revived the study of Greek, he also rescued the Hebrew language from the dust of oblivion. The republic of scholars is eternally indebted to him for having saved them from a burdensome task, and theologians should crown him with honour for having restored to the sacred Scriptures their ancient lustre.'

Others who, like Reuchlin, belonged to the first celebrities of Heidelberg were James Wimpheling, who, at the instigation of Dalberg, had written the 'Guide for the Youth of Germany,' and Wimpheling's friend, Pallas Spangel. The Latin poets Conrad Leontius and

James Dracontius; the Saxon nobleman and philosopher Heinrich von Bünau; the lawyers Adam Werner of Themar and John Wacker, styled Vigilius, canon of the cathedral of Worms, and Dietrich von Pleningen, also took an active part in the intellectual life of the time.

Dalberg's house was the rendezvous where these friends went freely in and out. Here they met together for intimate talk, or hospitable meals, or serious study. The Count Palatine Philip, according to Wimpheling, was occasionally among their number. Here Wimpheling discussed with his associates his scheme for a German History, Pleningen read out his German translations of the Latin writers, and Reuchlin his version of Homer. It was in Dalberg's house also that Reuchlin arranged the representation of a Latin play, the first ever performed in Germany.

But the intellectual influence of the Bishop of Worms was not confined to Heidelberg. He was not only curator of the university, but also leader and director of the Rhenish Literary Society, founded in 1491, by Conrad Celtes, in Mayence. Among the members of this body were the most distinguished men of all branches of science—theologians, lawyers, doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, linguists, historians, and poets, from the Rhinelands and from Middle and Southwest Germany. Besides Trithemius, Reuchlin, and Wimpheling, the society counted among its members such men as the mathematician and imperial historian John Stabius; the eminent Hebrew scholar Sebastian Sprenz, afterwards Bishop of Brixen; Ulrich Zasius, the prince of German advocates; and, further, the Humanists Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg, Wilibald

Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, and Henry Bebel of Tübingen.

The immediate object of this society, as of many similar ones in Germany, was the encouragement and spread of science and the fine arts generally, and classical learning especially, but also the furthering of national historical research. The members all assisted each other in their labours, showed each other their writings, criticised each other in turn, and helped mutually in distributing their respective works.

The famous publisher, Aldus Manutius, founded a learned society at Venice in the year 1502, with a view to making a centre of intellectual communication between Italy and Germany. 'If this plan proves workable,' he wrote to Conrad Celtes, 'our society will be of the greatest use to all seekers after knowledge, not only in the present but in the future, and Germany will come to be considered a second Athens.'

'Through the constant intercourse of scholars,' wrote Wimpheling, 'fresh life is germinating everywhere; the voice of warning wakes the slumberers; the letters which we write to one another speed like messengers of good tidings through the land.' The extensive correspondence carried on in the world of scholars not only served for personal matters, but answered in great measure to the scientific and literary periodicals of the present day. This society reached its highest lustre under the presidency of Dalberg (1491–1503). The death of this man in 1503 was a greater loss to German culture than even that of his contemporary, Agricola. 'I hold this bishop,' writes Wilibald Pirkheimer, 'worthy of lasting remembrance as well for his benevolence and virtues as for his great

and various learning.' The epitaph on his grave at Worms is as follows:

Er war selbst glücklich und stellte den Nachkommen mit glücklichem Erfolg ein Bild des Lebens auf.

John Trithemius stood in close relation to the University of Heidelberg. He was born in 1462 in the village of Trittenheim, on the Moselle, and was the founder of a kind of 'learned academy' in the Benedictine monastery of Sponheim, near Kreuznach, of which he had been abbot from 1483 to 1503. His pupils and his friends valued him as an ornament to his country, a teacher and example to the monks, a friend and educator of the priests, a father to the poor, and a healer to the sick. Conrad Celtes draws the following picture of him: 'Trithemius is abstemious in drink; he disdains animal food, and lives on vegetables, eggs, and milk, as did our ancestors when there were yet no strong spices in our Fatherland, and no doctors had begun to brew their gout- and fever-breeding concoctions. He is modest in speech and conduct.' His outward person was as dignified as his character. 'His firm, manly features,' writes Wimpheling, 'have a look of inexpressible goodness.'

Trithemius was an encyclopædia of learning, whose like was scarcely known in his century. Thoroughly at home in Greek and Latin classics, a competent Hebrew scholar, well equipped with knowledge of theology, philosophy, history, and canon law, he also applied himself zealously to the study of mathematics, astronomy, and physics, chemistry and medicine, and actually practised as a doctor in order to assist the poor. His literary and scientific connection was of very wide scope and varied character, as shown by his

epistolary correspondence with theologians, lawyers, mathematicians, physicists, doctors, and poets. It can be compared only with that of Erasmus. All scholars of the time, of any importance, as well as many men of high rank, such as the Emperor Maximilian, the Electors Philip and Joachim of Brandenburg, solicited his friendship. From Italy even, so Wimpheling tells us, distinguished men would frequently come to him for advice in learned matters, and counted themselves lucky to possess a letter from him.

He acquired world-wide fame by the library which he founded at Sponheim, and which, by years of unwearied labour and generous expenditure in collecting the rarest and costliest books in twelve different languages, he raised to a position of unique distinction in Germany. By the year 1505 it had grown to the size of two thousand volumes, and its collection of manuscripts was valued at eighty thousand crowns. In fulfilment of the decree of Trithemius the monks were to occupy themselves diligently in copying the manuscripts 'for the glory of God.' [1] The abbot himself copied with his own hands, among other works, the New Testament and the poems of the nun Roswitha. While lending willing co-operation to all general literary enterprises, such as those of the Kobergs in Nuremberg, and of John Amerbach in Basle, he himself formed the project of establishing an office in Sponheim which should be devoted entirely to printing reliable material for a History of Germany.

'The activity of the abbot Trithemius is wonderful,' writes Wimpheling in 1507, 'and his library enjoys

[1] Even in our day many evidences of the industry of the monks of Sponheim are extant.

well-merited renown through all the civilised world, as he himself has earned universal fame for his virtue and his learning. I have seen him at Sponheim surrounded by the children of the peasants, to whom he was teaching the elements of Christianity. I have seen him among a circle of priests who had come from different parts to obtain instruction from him in the Holy Scriptures and the Greek tongue; and I have seen him in the midst of scholars whom the fame of his learning and his library had attracted—many from far off—and to whom he generously allowed free access to his literary treasures, and the no less precious privilege of intercourse with himself.' [1] Alexander Hegius himself made a pilgrimage to Sponheim in advanced old age in order to become acquainted with this library and to enjoy the refreshment and stimulus of intercourse with the abbot. Learned men from all parts of Europe, bishops, doctors, priests, and nobles, flocked to the monastery, where they would remain, some one month, some three, some a whole year, devoting themselves, free of cost, to the study of Latin and Greek.

The many-sided literary activity of Trithemius in theology, philosophy, natural science, medicine, history, and literature, seems all the more astonishing because of the many claims on his time and attention made by the details of everyday life. On him devolved the task of providing for the daily wants of the monastery under his care; in addition to which he undertook the thorough reform of his order. But it was precisely this zeal for reform and desire for the improvement of his brother-monks that fed the energy of his literary

[1] *De Arte impressoria*, fol. 19.

work, which he valued only as an instrument towards this end.

'How can we be idle or wish for rest,' he writes in the 'Guide to the Right Method of Studying,' 'when we consider how much there is to do each day for ourselves or for others, and how soon death comes to put an end to all which, through the grace and merits of our Saviour, we can do for our salvation? Whether we labour with our pens or our words, we must always remember that we are preachers of the Truth, and apostles of love, and that this love will bring peace and blessing to ourselves according to the measure in which we distribute it among others. This thought will make the heaviest work light, and the severest trials sweet and welcome. Learning that is not born of this spirit leads only to evil, corrupts the heart, poisons the character, and misleads the world.' In the same spirit he addresses a letter to his brother: 'True learning is that which leads to the knowledge of God, which improves our morals, restrains our passions, gives an insight into all that is necessary to our salvation, and kindles in our hearts love for the Creator.'

The ecclesiastical and pastoral works of Trithemius, and his sermons and letters, furnish the most striking proof of the profundity of thought and elevation of mind which he brought to bear on the problems of life. They are outpourings of the most sincere piety, and witnesses of the earnestness of spirit in which the study of the Holy Scriptures was carried on in those days.

In common with the most prominent theologians of the day, Trithemius held that the study of theology should be brought back more and more to a basis of

Biblical knowledge. He also agreed with them in thinking that only those whose lives were pure could rightly apprehend the Scriptures as interpreted by the Church under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. 'For the study of the Bible,' he writes to a former fellow-student, 'love and discipline, solitude and calm, are indispensable, for the wisdom of God dwells only with the virtuous man, enters into the soul of the circumspect, informs the charitable heart, delights only in the pure and lowly-minded. If the Holy Scriptures are not always sufficiently enlightening on all matters of faith, the authority of the Church is thus enhanced, and the opportunity given for salutary obedience, which else would not be needed. The Church and the Bible are the complements of each other. The Church confirms the Scriptures, and is itself confirmed by the Scriptures. The same spirit which inspired the Scriptures also established the Church; hence St. Augustine says: "I should not believe the Gospel did not the authority of the Church compel me." The Church alone has authority to interpret the Scriptures in doubtful matters concerning the Faith, and whoever dares to question that interpretation denies the Gospel of Jesus Christ.'

The representatives of the new intellectual movement and of the enlightened methods of science, endeavoured to get rid of the dead formalism in which theology had stagnated for a hundred years and more, and to bring their labours into connection with those of their great predecessors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the pioneer work of Nicholas of Cusa, and the Carthusian Dionysius, the school of Scholastic philosophy, which formed the centre of scholarship,

received a new accession of life in Germany. It counted among its disciples many men of noble and penetrating intellect, who, far from misunderstanding the movements and requirements of the age, did their best to help them on and turn them into the right channels. The most prominent of the Scholastics, such as Trithemius, Johannes Heynlin, Gregory Reusch, Gabriel Biel, Geiler von Kaisersberg, and others, were at the same time the men who rendered the most practical services to their age. 'Trithemius considers it one of the greatest blessings of the age,' writes Wimpheling in 1507, 'that in matters of theology we are breaking away from the barren technicalities and hair-splittings of a worn-out Scholasticism, and are once more setting up St. Thomas Aquinas, the "*Engel der Schule*," as he was called, as a beacon light.' To what extent this was the case, and how truly St. Thomas Aquinas became once more the great teacher of theology in the West, are seen from the fact that at least two hundred editions and reprints of his various works are still in existence.[1]

The active interest taken by theologians in scientific studies had a very beneficial effect on Scholastic learning, by bringing it into *rapport* with theological studies, and also by the resistance which the theologians opposed to the superstitious pursuits of alchemy, astrology, and magic, which were then in vogue.

The acquirements of Trithemius in the field of natural science were so extraordinary that, like Albertus Magnus of old, he was believed by many to be a magician and worker of miracles, who could raise the dead to life, call up spirits from the nether world, foretell

[1] Hain, No. 1328–1543. How many more had appeared is not positively known.

future events, and discover robberies and thefts through witchcraft. And this notwithstanding that he himself wrote a pamphlet against sorcery and all the vain superstitions condemned by the Church, denouncing alchemists as 'Fools and apes, enemies of nature and contemners of things divine.' [1] He was unsparing in his condemnation of George Sabellicus, the famous apostle of the black art, although the latter was the *protégé* of the nobleman Franz von Sickingen, of Creuznach, near Sponheim, who went so far as to appoint him schoolmaster. 'Away with you!' he writes; 'vain, presumptuous men, lying astrologers, deceivers of weak minds; the stars can teach us nothing concerning our immortal life, neither can they instruct us in natural or supernatural wisdom.' 'The soul of man is free, and not under subjection to the stars; it is not influenced by them or their orbits, and has no dependence but on the eternal principle of life from which it proceeds and by which it exists. The stars have no dominion over us, and we acknowledge Jesus Christ alone as having control over everything.' Among the literary works of Trithemius there are two which are still indispensable to the student of the past; the one is the patrologic work on the 'Church writers,' a general biographical lexicon compiled at the instigation of Johannes Heynlin, and unique of its kind at that period; the other, 'A Catalogue of the Distinguished Men of Germany,' written at the suggestion of Wimpheling,[2] and the first attempt at a history of literature published in Germany.

[1] In our sixth volume we again allude to Trithemius's standpoint upon this subject.

[2] This work is of the greatest value in jurisprudence. See Von Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen rechtes*, iii. 33–34.

The most attractive of his writings are his historical works. His 'Annals of Hirsau' was intended only as a preparatory sketch for a universal History of Germany, for which, with the assistance of the monk Paul Lang, he was still collecting materials in all the German monasteries during the last years of his life.

The patriotic tendency of his studies produces throughout a most favourable impression. Notwithstanding the attention bestowed by him on classical and theological studies, he always preserved a lively interest in the early history of Germany, and was never weary of expressing in his works and letters the warmth of his affection for the Fatherland. Among the Rhenish 'Literary Society' he bore the title of 'Prince of National Science,' and Wimpheling wrote thus of him to Rome: 'We call him also the happy father of an innumerable intellectual posterity; the best and most famous son of a land rich in gifts both of nature and of mind.'

The testimony of John Butzbach gives us some idea of the enthusiasm which the writings of Trithemius awakened in the young. He tells us that the first work of the abbot which he lighted on was read by him breathlessly, from beginning to end. Waking and sleeping he could not get the book or its writer out of his head. Nicholas Gerbellius esteemed himself happy 'to have lived in a century in which men like Trithemius arose in Germany.' Johann Centurian, who studied Greek and Hebrew and the Scriptures for two years under Trithemius, could scarcely find adequate words of praise for his master's indefatigable zeal and the perfect blamelessness of his life.

Trithemius, on his side, writes: 'How delightful it is

to be able to inspire the young with a pious desire for the study of science, human and divine, and to fill them with love of the Church and of the Fatherland; to teach them that each action should tend to the honour of God, the salvation of their own souls and the benefit of others. In the midst of the day's toil, at the service of the choir, in the stillness of the night, I seem to hear a voice saying ever, "Time is flying, use it well; lose no single hour; improve yourself and seek to improve others; study and teach." You young men, on whom our hopes for the future are built, fight a valiant fight against sin and spiritual death, against the sluggishness of nature, against the distractions of life. Study, and improve yourselves in every science, but remember that all knowledge without piety is vain and idle. As religion should permeate our whole life, so also must it colour all our studies.'

'The ancient writers,' he continues, 'whose works we are now so eagerly studying, should be to us but the means to higher ends. We can recommend these authors with a clear conscience to those who do not read them merely for intellectual pleasure, but who, after the example of the Fathers of the Church, seek in them the means of advancing in Christian science. We even look on the former as a necessary complement to the study of the latter.' The importance of the classics from this point of view was more closely reasoned out by Johann Butzbach, the accomplished pupil of Trithemius, against the enemies and abusers of Humanistic studies. He says: 'Those who have not studied the classics will break down in the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers: first, because they are wanting in the linguistic knowledge necessary for fully under-

standing them, and, secondly, because their minds will not have become disciplined to severe mental work. Secular studies are as it were steps leading up to theology, the highest of all studies.' It was in order to be well strengthened and grounded for the study of the Scriptures that the Fathers of the Church had given so much attention to the classics. 'Had you read the writings of the Fathers,' he continues, 'had you read St. Jerome, you would have understood the mystical signification of the stories of the Israelites taking the gold and silver vases of the Egyptians; of their gilding the ark of the covenant with the gold of the heathen; of the queen of Sheba laying the treasures and perfumes of Arabia at the king's feet; of the Magi travelling from foreign lands in order to offer gold, frankincense, and myrrh at the cradle of the Saviour; you would understand that all the intellectual treasures of the heathen world are part and parcel of Christian truth, and all tend to the glory of the most High God.'

When St. Jerome relates of himself that he was severely chastised by God for being more of a Ciceronian than a Christian, we must not let this example set us against the study of antiquity *per se*, but remember that St. Jerome was punished for his excessive love of these heathen works, whereby he was in danger of losing his taste for godly things. It was this very knowledge of the classics which made St. Jerome such a shining light in the Church; and if God willed that he should translate the books of the Old and New Testaments for the use of the Church, He willed also that he should go through those studies which alone would train him for the higher work. Much, no doubt, in the literature of the ancients is

offensive to a delicate sense of morality; nevertheless, the study of it must not on that account be abandoned. What it behoves us to do is to expunge, as much as possible, what is dangerous, and, as St. Basil recommends, set to work like the bees, who do not suck in the whole flower, poison and all, but choose only the honey.

Butzbach, who was such an eloquent exponent of his master's ideas, entered more fully than any of his other pupils into the spirit and aims of Trithemius. As master of novices, and later on prior of the monastery of Laach, he was as indefatigable in labour as his master and pattern had been; endeavouring like him to cultivate his mind in all directions, and to obtain wide influence through his literary activity. He was of the same true and steadfast nature, the same lofty and self-forgetting mind as Trithemius; and, like his master, he knew no greater joy than to find his own enthusiasm kindling sparks in others. As author he followed in the footsteps of the abbot of Sponheim, and in conjunction with his friend and religious associate, James Siberti, published a valuable continuation of 'The Catalogue of Distinguished Men' in the years 1508–1513. It is a history of the literature of the day, and in a series of 1,155 articles it describes the character and works of the authors from different countries of Europe.

Side by side with Heidelberg the university of Freiburg, in Breisgau, rose rapidly to distinction. Two of its professors in particular, the jurist Zasius and the theologian Gregory Reisch, became eminent for their scientific labours and their personal influence. Like Wimpheling in the field of pedagogy, and Reuchlin in

the study of Hebrew, Zasius (born at Constance in 1461) did important pioneer work in the reform of jurisprudence. He differs from the reformers in other intellectual departments in that, while they were followed by successors of equal distinction with themselves, he stands out during his own and the two following centuries as a unique phenomenon. He not only surpassed other writers on law in beauty of outward form, in purity of style, facility and variety of language, and in natural sequence of thought, but his matter also is far beyond that of contemporary jurists. His aim throughout is to do away with the barbarisms of the commentators, and to make an independent examination of original sources. In the execution of this task he endeavours to steer clear of traditional prejudices, to set aside sophistical casuistries, and to maintain a simple, natural attitude of mind. In the preface to his principal work he says, 'I propose to use the original texts and such arguments only as bear on the subject and are supported by good evidence.' Far from wishing the German spirit to become subservient to the foreign Roman law, he made it his task to teach only so much of this law as was useful and in accordance with the customs of Germany. It was only when he found gaps and imperfections in the German law that he fell back on the Roman code to improve and perfect that of his own country. Whatever was incompatible with the genius of the German nation, in the deepest sense of the word, had no value in his eyes.

He was the sworn enemy of those quibbling lawyers who, with the help of the Roman code, so twisted and perverted facts and evidence that no solution of a case was arrived at till both parties were ruined by costs.

'Such advocates,' he complains, 'poison judgment, mock at justice, seek to entangle administration, and are hateful to God and man.' His remarks on the dignity of the degree of 'Doctor of Laws' show the respect in which he held the science of jurisprudence. 'This degree is not conferred in order to enable a man to inscribe himself among the followers of courts, or to wear their livery, or to soil his conscience with the mud of the tribunal or the consistory, but to invest him with the privilege of speaking and teaching the law, of deciding what is doubtful, and of protecting the State. This is the aim of the true LL.D. He who is sincere serves the State; he who is not, destroys it.'

As a university professor Zasius enthralled his hearers by the clearness of his arguments, the warmth of his sentiments, and the fervour of his eloquence. Not one among his contemporaries, either in Germany or Italy, excelled him in oratorical power, so his disciple Fichard asserts. Another pupil writes as follows: 'When we received our Zasius in the lecture hall or accompanied him to his home he seemed a very angel to us. How often I used to say to myself, "It is time to go and hear Zasius' lecture, to drink in his teaching," or, if doubts assailed me, "Go to Zasius and ask his counsel." On feast days it was our delight to accompany him to church, and then see him home.'

The deep faith which was the foundation of his conduct, his sincerity, honesty, and simplicity, attached to him all who came in contact with him. Erasmus, writing to Wilibald Pirkheimer, says: 'Zasius is a rare example of old-fashioned morality and virtue. His conduct and behaviour are, throughout, of Christian purity. None ever part from him without feeling stirred

to greater piety by his conversation. I have never come across a nobler or purer soul in Germany. He is a grand man, and Germany can scarcely possess a second like him. If any is worthy of immortality, it is he.'

Gregory Reisch, prior of a Carthusian convent, equally renowned for his theological and philosophical learning, was the intimate friend of Zasius. He lectured on cosmography and mathematics, and also gave instruction in the Hebrew language to young men particularly anxious to learn it. He belonged to the school of Realists, which, through the influence of his friend, George Nordhofer, had gained preponderance at Freiburg from the year 1489. Gregory Reisch obtained world-wide fame by a work, first published in 1503, under the title of 'Pearls of Philosophy,' and of which the 'Naturspiegel' ('Mirror of Nature') of Vincent von Beauvais, the 'Buch der Natur' ('Book of Nature') by the Ratisbon priest Conrad of Meygenberg, and the 'Weltbild' ('World's History') by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, may be considered progenitors. This work of Reisch's was the first encyclopædia of philosophy in Germany, and for some time it continued to be reprinted every two or three years, and during half a century it contributed in a remarkable manner to the spread of learning.[1] It dealt principally with mathematical subjects, but music also had a considerable share of its attention. Reisch's writings on mineralogy, meteorology, and orthography show him to have been a keen observer.[2] The most gifted of his pupils in cosmography was Martin Waldseemüller, of Freiburg,

[1] The Hebrew Grammar was used in the university in 1461.

[2] Alexander von Humboldt in *Cosmos*, ii. 286.

who published in 1507 an 'Introduction to the Study of Cosmography, with the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci,' with a dedication to the Emperor Maximilian. This was the first public appearance of the narrative of the Florentine traveller. Waldseemüller gives descriptions in this work of the different maps which he had made of European countries, and remarks incidentally that for the later ones he had availed himself of the works of Ptolemy, as well as of the observations of navigators.[1] He also worked on the beautiful edition of Ptolemy published at Strasburg, and wrote two treatises on architecture and perspective,[2] which his teacher, Reisch, embodied in the new edition of his encyclopædia brought out in 1507.

The University of Basle surpassed even that of Freiburg in intellectual activity, in fresh and vigorous life, and in the proficiency of its teachers. Up to the time of the Church schism Basle was the 'pleasantest abode of the Muses.'[3] In the first decades of its existence the most striking figure in the university was Johannes Heynlin of Stein, from the diocese of Spires, a man as conspicuous for his austere piety as for his vast learning, his eloquence, and industry. One of the last of the distinguished leaders of the mediæval school of Realists, he was, nevertheless, behind few of his contemporaries in enthusiasm for the newly revived study of antiquity. Wherever his restless activity carried him, at Basle, Paris, Tübingen, and Bern, he had an unusual

[1] Peschel says in his *Geschichte der Erdkunde* their observations were as exact as those made now.

[2] Alexander von Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 358–371; Ghillany, vols. iv.–vi.; Poscher.

[3] We find Erasmus calling Strasburg 'The home of the Muses' in a letter written in 1516. Woltmann, i. 267.

following. As rector of the University of Paris he used all his influence to promote the study of the classics in France, and, above all, to hold up the beauty and purity of style of the Latin writings as an example to be followed. Paris was indebted to him for its first printing-house, established by the so-called 'German Brotherhood.' In conjunction with the famous Realist, Wilhelm Fichet, he rendered every possible assistance to those scholars who took refuge from Greece in Paris. He carried on a brisk correspondence with Italy, and bought up collections of manuscripts, by careful comparison of which he was able to throw light on the text of the classic authors. He had great influence on the culture of Agricola and Reuchlin, both of whom acknowledge him as their teacher in the most grateful and complimentary terms. At Bern he established a house of education and discipline, which was placed under the direction of the monk Nicholas Weidenbusch, who was also well versed in the science of medicine. As a preacher, both at Basle and Bern, he waged war against the vices and crimes of the day.[1]

At Basle Heynlin was the intellectual centre of a circle of able men, who were active workers, either in the university or in the field of literature generally; among them were the following embryo celebrities of first rank:—Sebastian Brant and Geiler von Kaisersberg; William Textoris of Aix-la-Chapelle, professor of theology, whom Trithemius praises for his independence of mind and his eloquence; and the zealous Church reformer, Christopher von Utenheim. The theologian Johann Matthias von Gengenbach, who, in the year

[1] There are still five octavo volumes of his sermons in the Basle library.

1474, was called to occupy the first chair of poetry and the fine arts in Germany, was also a member of this circle. The archdeacon Johann Bergman, from Olpe, in Westphalia, proved himself the disinterested and generous protector of Heynlin and his Humanistic friends. At his own expense he started a printing press for bringing out popular editions of the works of Brant, Reuchlin, and Wimpheling, beautifully got up, and in many cases illustrated with excellent woodcuts. In this undertaking he was seconded by the printer Jean Amerbach, who in turn received much valuable assistance from Heynlin, formerly his teacher in Paris.

After a busy career Heynlin retired to the Carthusian monastery of St. Margarethenthal, in the valley of St. Margaret, in 1487, and spent the last nine years of his life in prayer and literary work. In this period of seclusion he published editions of nearly all the works of Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, besides introductions to and summaries of several of Cicero's works. His treatises on the philosophy of Aristotle show his familiarity with the system of the Stagirite, for the better general understanding of which he was solicitous. A work of his on the Mass went through twenty different editions in the course of twelve years, in Rome, Cologne, Strasburg, Basle, Leipsic, and elsewhere.

'Like a brave crusader,' writes Wimpheling concerning him, 'he was always ready armed for the fight, and he fought many a hard battle, but his heart was ever inclined for peace. His work was abundantly blessed. He never took book or pen in hand without having first communed in prayer with God. He had read and meditated on the Scriptures so much that he knew them

almost by heart. His mind was as pure as that of a child, and it was his greatest delight and refreshment when wearied with long labour to play with little children.'

When he died, universally lamented, in 1496, Sebastian Brant was the only one of all his many friends outside the monastery who was allowed to be present at his deathbed.

Sebastian Brant, born at Strasburg in 1457, commenced his career in 1489, at Basle, as professor of law, and in conjunction with Ulrich Krafft (the teacher of Ulrich Zasius) did much to increase interest in the study of jurisprudence at the university. He taught simultaneously, to the immense satisfaction of the students, as professor of classics, and gained repute by his Latin poems, and by editing the works of several writers who had aimed at the propagation of the study of Christian Humanities. Science and literature are specially indebted to him for the first complete edition of the works of Petrarch, whom he celebrated in a noble Latin poem. He also gave his attention to the publishing of several ancient books on jurisprudence, and interested himself deeply in the bringing out of the 'Bible Concordance of 1496,' and in the six-volume Bible with the glossary of Nicholas of Lyra, published at Basle in 1498.

Brant's nature and character were by no means merely scholastic and theoretical. He worked always for practical ends, and in all the movements of the time it was essentially the political and moral aspects and the interests of the people that appealed to him. This is strikingly shown by his didactic and religious poem 'Das Narrenschiff,' one of the most interesting

monuments of a pious, patriotic mind. He was an enthusiastic worshipper of the ancient order of things under Pope and Emperor, and he remained unswervingly true to his creed. His principles were summed up in the following lines:

Nit lass vom Glauben dich abfüren,
Ob man davon will disputiren,
Sonder glaub schlecht einfeltiglich
Wie die heilige Kirch thut leren dich.
Nimm dich der scharffen Lehr nit an,
Die dein Vernunft nit mag verstahn.

'Be not led from the Faith although they may dispute about it. Believe with simplicity what the Church teaches you. Do not trouble yourself about subtleties which it is beyond your power to understand.'

Heynlin's pupil and friend, the cathedral preacher Geiler von Kaisersberg, born in 1445, occupied the same position at Strasburg as Heynlin himself did at Basle. He was the leading spirit of an important circle of highly gifted men, on whom the 'Queen of the Upper Rhine' might well look with pride. As a Scholastic theologian, as a zealous promoter of Humanistic studies in the Christian sense, and as a pulpit preacher, he was entirely in accord with the mental attitude of his master, Heynlin. These two men, together with their friends Johann Trithemius and Gabriel Biel, close the list of the great mediæval divines. Geiler's sound and thoroughgoing classical culture rendered him specially capable of preaching clearly and impressively to the people. His Biblical and patristic learning was wide and thorough. While urging strongly on theologians the necessity of studying the Scriptures and the early Fathers of the Church, he was very decided in his

opinion that divinity students should not begin with the early Fathers, but should have their attention turned at first to the later theologians and Schoolmen, who proceed on the plan of setting questions admirably adapted for discussion, for refutation of heretics, for sharpening the reason, and for clearing up apparent contradictions. 'No theologian,' he says, 'should let a day go by without reading and meditating on the sacred Scriptures, the Book of books, in order to make himself master of them, and to be able to explain them effectively to the people; but in their expositions they must always look to the Church for guidance.'

There was scarcely a single individual in Germany at the close of the Middle Ages who was held in such universal honour by his contemporaries as Geiler—scarcely anyone who is so great a power even in the present day, and has so far-reaching an influence as 'the clear-toned trombone of Strasburg,' as Geiler was called. He was remarkable for the possession of two qualities which do not often go together—immense intellectual activity and extreme tenderness of heart. To great charity towards his neighbour, and sincere humility, he united firm decision, untiring perseverance, and indomitable strength of character. 'He spent himself in love to his fellow-men,' says Wimpheling, 'and to the end of his life his heart grieved over the sins and errors of his time. He was austere in his judgments of himself, and practised all manner of self-renunciation. At the same time he was the enemy of gloom and moroseness, was merry and cheerful in his daily life, and warm in his friendship towards the select number who had the good fortune to enjoy familiar intercourse with him.'

Among his friends was the canon Thomas Wolf, at whose house Picus of Mirandola met 'a symposium of sages,' the cathedral dean, Frederic of Hohenzollern; the rector, Johannes Rot; and the canon Peter Schott the younger, son of the alderman Peter Schott, through whose influence Geiler had obtained his post at the cathedral. The younger Peter Schott was, as his writings show, an enthusiastic disciple of the older Christian school of Humanists, a thoroughly well-educated canon, and a pious priest zealous for the salvation of souls. It was also the influence of Geiler which helped to form the learned theologian Otmar Nachtigall, who, after travelling over nearly the whole of Europe and part of Asia, was for a long time professor of Greek in his native city of Strasburg. In the preface to his 'Evangelical History' he says: 'In my boyhood I got a great deal of wholesome instruction from Doctor Geiler von Kaisersberg, both by the sermons he preached at Strasburg, and also later in his own house. I owe it to this that men call me unworldly. God grant this opinion may be true.'

Geiler's interest in and active labours for historical and Humanistic studies assumed their true importance after he had succeeded in inducing Brant and Wimpheling to settle at Strasburg. At his suggestion the former was called from Basle in the year 1500 to fill the post of solicitor of the council, and shortly after he was further appointed city clerk. The latter (James Wimpheling), at Geiler's request, consented to remain, and became Geiler's collaborator in editing the works of Johann Gerson.

The deep interest which Wimpheling and Brant took in the past history of their country induced them

to establish a society for the purpose of studying it. Assisted by the co-operation of younger workers, they got together a collection of original documents on the history of the Upper Rhine district, which they intended to supplement with biographical and ethnographical commentaries. In 1507 Wimpheling, explaining the proposed objects of the society (which unfortunately were never fulfilled), wrote as follows: 'We propose to dedicate to our native land a mark of our grateful affection and homage. What on earth can be dearer to us than the land on which we were born and have grown up, the land with which all the memories of youth are inseparably bound up, and underneath whose soil the bones of our forefathers lie buried? The records of this soil instruct us concerning the life of our ancestors, and the study of them makes us acquainted with our own past.'

At Geiler's suggestion Thomas Wolf the younger formed the plan of writing a History of Strasburg from its earliest beginnings down to the present day. Brant collected the materials for a history of the time, made daily notes of the annals of the town, and received much praise for the order which he introduced into the city archives. Wimpheling, also at Geiler's instigation, wrote a History of the Bishops of Strasburg.

In a book entitled 'Germany, to the honour of the city of Strasburg and the river Rhine,' which Wimpheling wrote in 1501, and dedicated to the city council, he represents it as the special duty of a good government to see that accurate chronicle books are kept, in which all the principal events—everything, in short, that is of importance to the town—should be recorded, for the use of posterity, for the instruction of the young,

for the protection of freedom, and the preservation of the privileges conferred on the city by the Popes and Emperors. He earnestly exhorts the council to provide for the welfare of the city by the encouragement of learning and the erection of schools. In his enthusiasm for his country he tries to prove that the countries west of the Rhine had always belonged to Germany, and that the French could not, therefore, rightly lay claim to Alsatia.

With the same patriotic ardour he wrote (1502), in a 'Sketch of the History of Germany down to the Present Time,' which he compiled from notes collected by Sebastian Murrho in 1502: 'I am in a constant state of admiration of the old historians—not the later ones, who appear to me always as detractors. For being solicitous, in the first place, not to recount anything that is false, and, secondly, not to hide what is true in order not to be accused of being actuated by party prejudice or enmity, it is their habit, when speaking of the Germans, to record all their faults and vices, even the most trivial; but as to their virtues, they either pass them over altogether, or, if they do allude to them, the evident reluctance with which this is done, and the withholding of the merited praise, diminish the effect. . . . But we are not ashamed of being descended from the Allemanni, whose glorious and admirable deeds will be fully set forth in our book.'

This work is the first general German History written by a Humanist, and, as far as accurate investigation goes, it is very inferior to the works of an Irenicus or a Beatus Rhenanus, but it gave a strong impulse to the serious study of the past history of the Fatherland. In order to strengthen the national feeling of the people,

and to rouse a spirit of heroism among the young, Wimpheling sets forth in glowing language the glorious past of Germany, with which no other nation on earth can compare, either in military prowess, moral purity, or intellectual feats. The invention of printing alone would have constituted them the greatest benefactors of the world; and in architecture, painting, and sculpture they were undoubtedly the greatest masters. He shows great insight in dealing with the intellectual conditions of the time, discusses the most eminent among the scholars and artists, and affords pleasant proof that even at that early period there were writers who could intelligently handle the history of civilisation and literature in combination with political history.

What appeals to us most forcibly in this book is the perfect blending of genuine love for the Church with true patriotism, which indeed was a leading feature, not only of Wimpheling's labours and aspirations, but of the whole school of Christian Humanists. The defence of the unity and purity of the faith, together with inviolable loyalty to the empire, was looked on by them as their first duty, and the re-establishment of Christianity under the empire was their highest aim. Hence their reiterated warnings, by word and by writing, of the danger to Christianity from the advance of the Turks, who threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, and of the risk of decay of the empire through the ambition and covetousness of its separate princes, from whom the Emperor Maximilian, enthusiastic for everything high and noble, could get no support. 'All eyes,' says Wimpheling, 'are turned on Maximilian; on no emperor, since Charlemagne, has every section of the people built so great hopes. It is the universal

expectation that he will unite all the forces of Germany in a campaign against the Turks.' 'How long,' he exclaims to the princes of Germany, 'will you endure to see the Catholic Church undefended, and Constantinople unlawfully garrisoned? The wars you are fighting among yourselves may be just ones, but the first thing is to fight for Christ. Let there be a truce for once to German dissensions, that so your invincible valour may be turned against the Turks. Set free the unhappy Christian prisoners who are groaning under Ottoman chains, and rescue Constantinople from the heretics. You are nobles and bear the insignia of nobility, chains of gold adorn your necks and costly rings are on your fingers, your swords and spurs sparkle with gold. You are Christians, and wish to be considered as such; let your deeds prove your faith. Do not suffer that men should be able to reproach you with your cowardice, your indifference, your luxury and drinking, your voluptuousness and gambling. How easy a matter it is for princes of Germany to be victorious, for what a people they govern! What other nation is comparable to them in arms?' Exhortations of the same nature are repeated by Geiler in his sermons, and by Brant in his great religious poem, and in his smaller Latin poems addressed to the princes and other separatists in the State. 'A divided nation falls to the ground. Civil quarrels open the door to the foreign enemy. An unequal team upsets the waggon.'

The study of the classics was also eagerly pursued at Strasburg, side by side with that of history, Brant being one of its most energetic promoters. Geiler also, who saw in the classics a means of strengthening the faith in intelligent minds, took much interest in the subject,

and induced the bishop and canons of the cathedral to invite the eminent scholar Jerome Gebweiler to take charge of the cathedral school at Strasburg. It was also through his influence that the historian Beatus Rhenanus came from Schlettstadt to reside at Strasburg, and it was this same Rhenanus who, in 1510, preached the funeral sermon of the venerable cathedral preacher, and in touching words bore evidence to his virtues and talents, as well as to the respect in which he was held by the people.

Whoever reads the works of Geiler in an unprejudiced spirit must be struck by the incorruptible love of truth, the fearless independence, the impartial justice and true loyalty of this grand character. The power of his eloquence, the simplicity and easy vivacity of his style, are almost unsurpassed.

In his books we have some of the most reliable means of information as to the mind and manners of the people. An upholder of their rights, and a champion of the down-trodden wherever they were to be found, he fought vigorously against the oppression of the poor by the rich, the unjust distribution of taxes, and the pernicious love of the chase that prevailed among the nobility.

He laboured assiduously to establish better guardianship of the poor, and set himself strongly against the barbarous punishments in vogue at that time, especially the use of the rack. What he could spare from his income as cathedral preacher he devoted to the poor, each day giving alms to the foundlings and orphans. Whenever he appeared in the streets he was immediately surrounded by the poor and needy. He was a compassionate befriender of criminals condemned to

death—a class to whom hitherto in Strasburg the privilege of the Sacraments and of Christian burial had been forbidden.

During thirty years Geiler, in his capacity of cathedral preacher, exercised a powerful influence over high and low who flocked to his pulpit. He understood in a wonderful manner how to stir all the feelings of the human heart, and to kindle lively faith and love of piety. At a time when the life of the Church permeated the whole life of the State and of society, a man so God-fearing and of such intellectual force must have been a great power both in political and social matters. While unsparing in his rebukes of the vices and passions of the people, and of their insubordination to the constituted authorities, he showed equal fearlessness in reminding the ruling classes of their duties to the lower ones. Once, in addressing some tyrannical rulers, he used the following scathing language: 'Oh, you frenzied rulers, why do you despise your subjects? Are they not as good as you? Are they baptised in water, and you in malmsey? Do you think the sword was entrusted to your hands only in order to strike, and not also to protect?'

A worthy contemporary of Geiler was his friend Gabriel Biel, professor at the University of Tübingen.

After Freiburg and Basle the University of Tübingen became, in a short space of time, a third nucleus of intellectual life in South Germany; it was opened in 1477, and it developed so rapidly to maturity that in 1491 the Florentine Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Reuchlin, the adviser of Eberhard, Count of Würtemberg, on matters regarding the foundation, says, 'The students who were sent from Tübingen to the Italian universities know as

much as others who are leaving college there.' Count Eberhard's tutor, Johannes Vergenhanns, deserved equal credit with Reuchlin for the management of this university. Its first period of renown, before the outbreak of the Church schism, was due to the learned theologians Paul Scriptoris, Conrad Summenhart, and Gabriel Biel.

The first of this trio, the Guardian of the Friars Minor in Tübingen, devoted his energies, in conjunction with Summenhart, to furthering the study of Greek and Hebrew, and gave private instruction in mathematics among his friends. At his lectures on Euclid and the Ptolemaic geography, in 1497, his audiences included nearly all the professors of the university. His pupil Johannes Stöffler, pastor of Justingen, made in his own private study celestial globes and tower clocks, and gained wide renown as a mathematician and astronomer. He took an active share in the improvement of the calendar, and was one of the first writers on geographical map-making. Summenhart (1502) maintained that a thorough knowledge of the dead languages was necessary to the true interpretation of the Scriptures. His work on 'Treaties and Conventions,' and that on 'Tithes,' were valuable contributions to the science of political economy.

Gabriel Biel died in 1495. He belonged to the school of Nominalists, and he is one of the few writers of this party who succeeded in constructing a system of ecclesiastical theology which has never been attacked by Catholic theologians.

Enemies of the Schoolmen of every shade and description all agree in praising his works for their simplicity, brevity, and clearness. He was called 'The King of Theologians.'

Summenhart and Biel may be cited with Trithemius, Heynlin, Reisch, and others, as instances of the indifference shown by the leading German Schoolmen at the close of the fifteenth century to empty speculations and to subtleties of thought, and of the manner in which they grappled with the questions and requirements of the day.

Biel's opinions on the prices of goods and on the question of wages are still well worthy of study. His work on gold coinage is, indeed, a 'golden book.' On the subject of the prince's right to determine the coin value he expresses himself as follows: 'The ruler, it is true, has the right of coinage, but the coins in circulation do not belong to him, but to those among whom they circulate, who have received them in exchange for bread, labour, and so forth. It is, therefore, an act of fraud for the ruler to recall it at a depreciated value; this would be as despotic and tyrannical as if he fixed a price on his subject's corn with a view to speculation.'

Biel is equally emphatic in his condemnation of the State for infringing on the forest, pasture, and water rights of the people. Under the growing despotism of the princes it was high time for Biel to sound the cry that 'the princes were only there to carry out the wishes of the nation, and that to oppress the people with taxes was an offence before God and man.'

Ingolstadt, the fourth of the newly founded universities in South Germany, attained a high reputation in the first decades of its existence, and drew to itself students from Italy, France, Spain, England, Hungary, and Poland.

Among its staff of professors James Locher, styled 'Philomusus,' became distinguished as early as 1498

as a translator, as the compiler of several books of instruction, and as the editor and commentator of ancient classic writers. John Turmayr, also called Aventinus, was active in furthering Humanistic studies at Ingolstadt, and was the founder of a literary society there. Another ornament of this university was John Böschenstein, of Erlangen, who, like his master, Reuchlin, was a reviver of the study of the Hebrew language and literature.

But the most universal genius among the Ingolstadt professors was John Eck, lecturer on theology, a man of unusual endowments and rare originality and versatility. When only fifteen years of age he had often delivered lectures during six hours a day at Freiburg, besides himself attending the courses of the leading theologians and jurists.

From early youth he maintained the closest intercourse with the most celebrated of his contemporaries, such as Brant, Geiler von Kaisersberg, Peutinger, Reisch, Wimpheling, Reuchlin, Zasius, and others, and he developed gradually into a thorough theologian and philosopher. In his twenty-fourth year he was elected professor of theology at Ingolstadt, and two years later, rector of the university. With a view to reforming the system of lectures in the philosophical faculty he published, among other works, two folio volumes of commentaries on the dialectics and physics of Aristotle. He gained high repute throughout Germany as a teacher, a writer, and a controversialist. The Emperor Maximilian himself appealed to him for his opinion on some religious question. On the occasion of his visiting Nuremberg he was received with marked honours by the town council and the *literati* of the place.

Although of a conservative nature and a representative of the olden time, Eck was a follower and supporter of the new school of learning, and a true friend of the spirit of reform which aimed at purging the old school of all that had ceased to be of any use. In 1511 he said in one of his lectures, 'I glory in this century of ours, in which barbarism has become a thing of the past, in which the young are educated in the wisest manner, and which can boast of the finest speakers Germany has ever known, able to discourse both in Greek and in Latin. We have among us men who, while rejecting what was superfluous, have given us what was most beautiful in the ancients, and brought to light much that heretofore lay unknown. Truly we have reason to be proud of belonging to such an age.'

Among the centres of scholarship in South Germany which did not possess universities Nuremberg was the most important at the close of the Middle Ages. This town was esteemed as the brightest jewel of the empire, the centre of national intercourse, and the rendezvous of art and industry. Commercial prosperity had engendered riches and power, and developed among the wealthy merchants a love of art and science. The masters of the trade guilds vied in industry and ability with the most prominent artists. The new art of typography was practised here as zealously as anywhere. All the Muses may be said to have entered the gates of Nuremberg when, in June 1741 (some weeks later than the birth of Albert Dürer), the great reformer of the sciences of astronomy and mathematics, Johann Müller—'the wonder of his time'—surnamed Regiomontanus after his home in Lower Franconia,

took up his abode there. He raised the city to the position of one of the chief centres of mathematical and physical science, and contributed much towards making it 'the capital of German art.'

In 1448 Regiomontanus, then barely twelve years old, had entered the University of Leipsic in order to study philosophy and mathematics. Two years later he had gone to Vienna to perfect his studies under George Peuerbach, the most eminent astronomical professor of his day. At Vienna, in his sixteenth year, he obtained the degree of B.A., and in 1458 he started lectures on mathematics and astronomy, and in 1461 on philology. In conjunction with Peuerbach, and under the patronage of Cardinal Bessarion and Bishop Johann von Grosswardein, he compiled several pioneer works on the science of astronomy.[1] These two men were the founders of astronomical calculation and observation.

While the Germans, owing to their limited maritime power, were not able to do much towards geographical discovery, they very justly claim to have laid the foundation of modern mathematical geography through Regiomontanus and Peuerbach. The century in which such men as these flourished may justly be called the German century of geographical science.

These two men, under the influence of Nicholas of Cusa, became the restorers, in Europe, of direct and independent scientific research. By careful and unwearied labour they increased and multiplied the

[1] In the words of Humboldt and Peschel, 'Peuerbach and Regiomontanus influenced Copernicus and his disciples as the latter influenced Newton and Galileo.' See also H. Wuttke in *Die Erdkunde im letzten Drittel des Mittelalters*. Dresden, 1871.

treasures of wisdom obtained from the Greeks and Arabs, and helped to bring about that grand revolution in scientific thought which resulted in the Copernican system; for it was chiefly a work of Peuerbach on the planets, edited by Regiomontanus, which induced Copernicus to devote himself to the study of astronomy. In this work Peuerbach had elaborated a new theory of the planets, their spheres and movements, and had treated the most difficult points with unusual learning and distinctness. For nearly a hundred years this work continued to be the principal authority on astronomical science, and was used in all the schools of Europe as a preparation for the higher mathematics. Another work of Peuerbach, on the eclipses of the sun and moon, was also first brought out by Regiomontanus, and was of a like epoch-making character. After the death of Peuerbach in 1461, at the age of thirty-eight, Regiomontanus, at the invitation of Cardinal Bessarion, went to Italy. There he remained for several years, during which he devoted himself to the study of Greek, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with the historians, philosophers, orators, and poets of ancient Hellas, he himself composed good verses in the Greek language. He collected many Greek and Roman manuscripts, and turned his attention to Biblical and theological studies. With his own hand he made a clear and correct copy of a Greek edition of the New Testament which he could not succeed in procuring, and he carried it constantly about with him. He gave astronomical lectures in several colleges. In Padua he expounded the Arab astronomer Alfragan, made astronomical observations at Viterbo and other places, and completed in 1463, at the monastery of St. George at Venice, a masterpiece

of mathematical literature, which still forms the basis of trigonometry. As a man of science and a believing Christian he opposed the superstitious errors of astrology.

Richly supplied with manuscripts and other literary treasures, and possessor of nearly the whole body of the mathematical science of the ancients, Regiomontanus returned in 1468 to Vienna. He first busied himself with arranging a library for Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, a classical student, for whom he had purchased many valuable manuscripts in Greece, and he then went home to Nuremberg, and devoted himself entirely to study. Thence he wrote as follows to the celebrated mathematician Christian Roder of Erfurt: 'I have chosen Nuremberg as a permanent dwelling-place, because I can easily procure here all necessary instruments, particularly those which are indispensable for the study of astronomy, and also because I can easily keep up a connection with scholars of all countries from here, for this city, on account of its concourse of merchants, may be considered the central point of Europe.'

The work that Regiomontanus accomplished in the short space of four years in Nuremberg belongs to the record of phenomena in the history of human development. In proportion as his own many-sided love of science and learning increased, so did the desire grow in him to spread these blessings around him. And verily it was granted to him to succeed in inspiring a whole populous city with a deep interest in all the higher things of the mind, and to find helpers and co-labourers in all his different enterprises among all classes of society.

In order to initiate the educated citizens in his studies and discoveries he gave popular lectures on

astronomy and mathematics, a thing hitherto unheard of in Germany. The city clock was regulated according to the length of day which he had calculated for Nuremberg. He wrote able treatises on light reflectors, hydraulics, and weights. He established a large factory where all kinds of astronomical instruments, machinery, compasses, and globes were made under his directions, and which proved of great use in nautical science. In a short time Nuremberg sea compasses had become famous all over Europe, and this city earned the gratitude of geographical students by the excellent maps which it produced. In order to encourage a love of science, particularly of astronomy and mathematics, Regiomontanus used to set problems, for the solution of which he offered prizes.

With the pecuniary assistance of his friend and pupil Bernhard Walther, he founded an establishment for the express purpose of printing mathematical and astronomical works, thus inaugurating a fresh development in the art of printing and meriting the title to a place beside its inventor. Besides scientific works of the highest order this establishment published the first popular almanac, which has served as a pattern up to the present day.

He conceived the idea of publishing a history, with illustrations and commentaries, of all the most famous mathematicians, astronomers, and astrologers of antiquity and of the Middle Ages. He had already prepared a catalogue and secured the co-operation of the great authorities at different German and foreign universities, when his premature death cut short his design.[1]

[1] The plan has never been carried out, and the valuable letters of

Through the princely generosity of Bernhard Walther, Regiomontanus was enabled to build the first complete observatory in Europe, and to furnish it with all those instruments for astronomical observations which he had himself either invented or improved. He was the first of the astronomers of the Western world who calculated the size, the distance, and the orbits of comets, and thus brought these hitherto enigmatical bodies within the limits of distinct scientific observation.

As the improver of the astrolabe, the inventor of Jacob's staff, and the founder of the scientific annual called 'Ephemerides,' he connected German astronomical with Spanish nautical knowledge, and thus, in fact, became a co-agent in the great discovery of the age. Without Jacob's staff and the perfected astrolabe, by means of which astronomical distances were calculated from the height of the sun, it would have been impossible for the great navigators of the period—Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Cabot, and Magellan—to have ventured so far on the ocean and to have made their great discoveries. Columbus and Vespucius started for the New World equipped with the calculations which Regiomontanus had made during thirty-two years in the 'Ephemerides.' By means of these the former was enabled to foretell an eclipse of the moon in the West Indies. On their very first appearance, in the year 1475, they had excited such interest in all countries that they could command any price. The Venetians trafficked with them in Greece, and any library which contained even a fragment of them was

Regiomontanus, which might have been of much use to science and students, remain unknown. Aschbach, i. 551–552

looked upon with envy. Among those who prided themselves on being pupils of Regiomontanus, Martin Behaim of Nuremberg gained a high reputation as cosmographer and navigator. He took a personal share in voyages of discovery, and marked out on his terrestrial globe the way to the East Indies round Africa six years before its discovery by Vasco da Gama. The first steps to the discovery of the Straits of Magellan are also to be attributed to Behaim. Magellan himself says unmistakably over and over again that he found this passage, afterwards called after him, on a map of Behaim's, and that it was this map which suggested to him the idea of sailing this way to the Molucca Islands.

Regiomontanus had already achieved European renown when Pope Sixtus IV. appointed him bishop of Ratisbon, and by a letter in his own handwriting summoned him to Rome to take part in the revision of the Julian Calendar. In obedience to this call he left Nuremberg in 1475. At Rome he was received everywhere with marked honour, but the following year he died prematurely at the age of forty-one. The importance that was attached to his personality may be to some extent estimated from the fact that the apparition of a comet at the time of his death was supposed to be closely connected with his departure from life.

In 1507 Wimpheling wrote as follows to a Roman cardinal: 'Within the walls of Rome are buried the ashes of a German whom the Fatherland still mourns as one of its noblest sons. In virtue of his great learning Regiomontanus belongs to the whole world; and other nations will envy Germany the honour of having given

birth to such a genius. He was a great, a noble man, and his spotless life has earned him an everlasting crown.' At Nuremberg, where Regiomontanus had been universally honoured as the 'father and benefactor of the town,' the news of his death threw the whole population into the deepest grief. Under his influence intellectual life had flourished luxuriantly there. The study of art had received a new and vigorous impulse, and in respect of science the town had become a star of the first magnitude. An overpowering bent for mathematical science seemed to have taken possession of the place, and a passion for calculations and measurement spread through all classes.

Among the many pupils whom Regiomontanus's school sent forth, Bernhard Walther, Johann Werner, Johann Schoner, and Conrad Heinfogel worked vigorously on in their master's steps. Walther, after the latter's death, became chief of the German astronomers; Werner acquired a leading position in mathematics and physics. For the number and importance of the scholars who distinguished themselves in mathematics, physics, astronomy, and cosmography, Nuremberg was long without a rival in Germany.

Even such men as Wilibald Pirkheimer and Albert Dürer, whose vocations were of so opposite a nature, could not resist the prevailing strong attraction of mathematics and astronomy. With a zeal which was peculiar to that century, they applied themselves to the pursuit of these studies, and acquired such a fundamental knowledge of them that their names may not unfairly be coupled with the mathematicians of their times. Dürer's books on the art of surveying were a valuable contribution to mathematics, while his

exquisite celestial chart, a model of the wood-cutting art, was of no less value to astronomical science. Pirkheimer assisted Schoner in the manufacture of astronomical instruments, and from a copy in his valuable library he had the works of Archimedes published.

Wimpheling emphasises the fact that Regiomontanus was no less assiduous in the encouragement of the fine arts at Nuremberg than in promoting the study of the Greek language and of history. He was, indeed, one of the first of the Germans who, after learning Greek in Germany, perfected their knowledge in Italy by means of intercourse with learned Greeks in that country. He could not, moreover, have executed his great work—maps of the different countries of Europe, with historical and geographical notes from the most reliable sources—without the help of historical studies.

The patricians Johann Loeffelholz and Johann Pirkheimer (the father of Wilibald) and Sebald Schreyer were signally distinguished for their enlightened patronage of science and learning. They founded libraries, took young scholars into their own families, and assisted them in bringing out their works. Through the liberality of Schreyer the town physician, Hartmann Schedel, was enabled to publish his beautiful book of chronicles, illustrated with more than 2,000 excellent woodcuts. Schedel also published a great work, the outcome of the antiquarian collection he had made during his student days at Padua : a collection from manuscripts and books, as well as personal research, of all the memorable relics of Italy—especially of Rome and Padua—and with special regard to legends and inscriptions, ' for the delight of posterity,' so he says, ' and for their encouragement to

go on improving.' His friend Wilibald Pirkheimer placed at his disposal many notes, extracts and copies for a similar work on German antiquities. The Benedictine monk Siegmund Meisterlein, who wrote the History of Nuremberg from the earliest times, was the friend of Schedel and Schreyer. Nuremberg possessed so many patrons of *belles-lettres* that it was rightly considered the first town in Germany in which classic literature had been assiduously cultivated.

Foremost among these for liberal generosity was Wilibald Pirkheimer (born in 1470), the patron *par excellence* of learning; he was equally renowned as jurist, statesman, orator, historian and philologist; and as commander-in-chief to Maximilian he was known abroad as well as at home. He was as a prince in the then world of scholars. His literary connections extended to France, Italy, and England. His house and library were stocked with treasures of art and learning, and formed the nucleus of the Humanist following in Germany.

It is true that Pirkheimer does not bear comparison with his friends Wimpheling, Geiler von Kaisersberg, and Brant in purity of morals. He did not altogether keep free from the naturalistic theories of life of the ancients, whom he studied so eagerly. He was not entirely exempt from passions: he sometimes indulged in slander. Albert Dürer's letters to him are proofs of other not very edifying things by which he undoubtedly sometimes endangered his reputation. His conceptions of antiquity were tainted with the errors which afterwards became the cause of fierce battle between the younger Humanists and the defenders of revealed religion. Like Erasmus, he made repeated and whole-

sale attacks on the ecclesiastical teaching of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, however, he was a zealous advocate of ecclesiastical literature, publishing and translating the works of the early Fathers and Christian writers, and in his prefaces and introductions there is always the true ring of a pure religious mind. The character of Wilibald appears at its best in his brotherly relations with his sister Charity, abbess of St. Clare. The letters which the brother and sister exchanged, together with the memoirs of the abbess, are a precious legacy of wisdom, piety, and pure morality.

Conrad Peutinger, born in 1465, the friend of Wilibald, exerted in his native town of Augsburg as great an intellectual influence as did the latter in Nuremberg. He was of a noble and generous nature, with a keen and far-reaching intellect. Already in his early years he had acquired at the colleges of Rome, Padua and Bologna, and by close intercourse with Pomponius Lætus, Picus of Mirandola, and Angelus Politianus, a thorough training in jurisprudence, *belles-lettres*, and art. After his fortieth year, and at the instance of Reuchlin, he took up the study of Greek, and gained a mastery of the language. Ulrich Zasius reckons him among the few who arrived at a clear understanding of Roman law, and who were instrumental in rightly grafting it on to the German Code. He was also well versed in theology. He wrote on ecclesiastical antiquities, and prepared for the press a commentary on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard. His acquaintance with the Scriptures and the Fathers was universally recognised, and he was one of those to whom the Emperor Maximilian applied for advice in his schemes for national religious education, consulting him as to the best means

of bringing the mysteries of the Christian religion home to the common people.

After 1490, when Peutinger became town clerk in Augsburg, he was brought into closer relations with Maximilian. As a man of generous feelings, and as the enthusiastic friend of German history and art, Peutinger was thoroughly congenial to the Emperor, and their mutual relations were characterised by deep loyalty on the one side, and entire confidence on the other. Maximilian entrusted Peutinger with several important matters of diplomatic business, and evinced cordial and affectionate friendship for him as years went on. Peutinger never abused his sovereign's favour for his own personal advantage, but utilised it for the benefit of his native city and the furthering of patriotic ends. Not the slightest suspicion of self-seeking has ever been attached to his memory. He always took an active interest in the scientific labours of others, and welcomed any improvement or advance on his own works. He was entirely free from personal vanity, and remained to the end untainted by the false pride of learning.

Peutinger found in Augsburg a promising field for historical studies. The Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra had long been remarkable for its religious discipline and its zeal for learning. It possessed its own printing press, by means of which, as well as by purchase and exchange, it amassed a valuable library, containing many classical works. At the suggestion of the burgomaster, Sigismund Gossembrot, the zealous Humanist, Siegmund Meisterlein, a monk of that monastery, had written a History of Augsburg in the year 1456–1457, which later on, under the direction

of the abbot Johann von Giltlingen, he had supplemented by an Ecclesiastical History of the city and of the monastery, in which he showed remarkable intelligence in research and originality of treatment. His manner of relating the things which came under his personal observation was particularly vivid. A literary society for the special purpose of historical research was formed in Augsburg among the clergy, the town councillors, and other citizens, and Peutinger was both its animating soul and its most active member. At great labour and expense he founded a library which was specially distinguished for its valuable records of early German history. He was indefatigable in collecting manuscripts, coins, and other antiquities; and he gathered together by degrees a collection, unique of its kind, of Roman inscriptions found in the city and diocese of Augsburg. These inscriptions, the earliest materials for the history of Augsburg, were published by him in the year 1505, by order of Maximilian and with the assistance of the historical society. He brought out in the following year, under the title 'Table-talk on the Antiquarian Wonders of Germany,' a work which gained him widespread literary renown. In the year 1507 appeared the first edition of 'Ligurinus,' an historical poem of the times of Frederick Barbarossa, which Conrad Celtes found in the cloister of Erbach. It won the admiration of all scholars, and reached seven editions within a year. Later on (1514–1515) Peutinger enriched historical science with editions of three Chronicles—the Chronicle of Ursperg discovered by himself, the History of the Goths by Jordanes, and the History of the Lombards by the Deacon Paulus. The Emperor Maximilian had selected Peutinger for other

works of an historical nature which were connected with that philanthropic emperor's well-known plans for the promotion of learning in Germany.

The most active centres of these schemes were the Imperial Court at Vienna, where Maximilian endeavoured to gather together the learned men of the day, and the University of Vienna, which had grown to be the chief seat of learning in Europe.

The Emperor Maximilian had already in early youth evinced a deep love of science and literature. Through the solicitude of his father he had received a careful education, and had been thoroughly instructed in all the different branches of the learning of his time. The library of Vienna contains writings of his on the genealogy and history of his own dynasty, on heraldry, on the science of artillery, on battle-arms, architecture, the chase, hawking, and other subjects. No prince of the Middle Ages equalled him as a linguist. He was familiar not only with the different dialects of his own dominions, but with those of many foreign lands; so that in one of his campaigns he was able to converse with seven different commanders in their own languages. So great especially was his proficiency in Latin that Pirkheimer, who was acquainted with parts of his memoirs, assured a friend that no German scholar could have written in a purer style. Even during his campaigns he read constantly from the best poets. 'There is no one in Germany,' writes Trithemius, 'who has a greater thirst for learning, a stronger love of all the manifold sciences, or a keener delight in their spread than King Maximilian, the friend and patron of all scholars.'

Unlike many contemporary princes, Maximilian did

not confine his favour to the teachers of some one favourite branch, but encouraged study in all alike. Theologians, historians, jurists, poets, linguists, but above all Humanists and artists, enjoyed his protection and help. They all spoke with the highest enthusiasm of the prince, who united the greatest cordiality with the most princely dignity, drawing them to his presence, gaining their confidence, and communicating life and soul to everything around him.

Maximilian gained the honourable name of 'Father of the Arts and Sciences' principally because, in the words of Wimpheling, 'The one high aim of all his efforts was the glory of the Church and State, the elevation of morals, and the encouragement of patriotism.' In nothing so much as in the province of learning was the motto which a Rhenish Francoman applied to him more appropriate:

> German I am, German I maintain,
> German I govern, German I remain.
>
> Deutsch bin ich und sinn' ich,
> Deutsch handle ich und bleibe ich.

This was the keynote to his unwearied labours in the cause of history, which had never had so intelligent or generous a patron in any of the Roman emperors of Germany, either before or after him.

Joseph Grünbeck relates that there was nothing in which he took so great delight as history; and one of his favourite sayings was that any ruler who was not careful to preserve his own and his predecessors' history, or was indifferent to the character which he bequeathed to posterity, was worthy of hatred and contempt. He could be no lover of the public good who failed to utilise so fruitful a means of instruction and so strong

an incentive to public virtue Indifference of this sort, moreover, had been the cause of the ruin of many powerful kingdoms, communities, and states, where the rulers had been barbarous, inexperienced, and ignorant.

Max Treizsaurwein relates in the 'Weisskunig'[1] that when he came of age Maximilian spared no expense in sending out scholars to collect from chapter-houses, monasteries, books and learned men, information about the families of kings and princes, and 'all this was recorded in writing to the honour and glory of the royal and princely houses. . . . And wherever a king or a prince had founded any institution which had been forgotten, he revived the memory of it, which otherwise would not have been done. All the coins which any emperor, or king, or great ruler of former times had coined, and which were found and brought to him, he ordered to be kept and had them painted in a book, by which means it often happened that an emperor, king, or prince was brought to light again, with his name, who would otherwise have been forgotten.'

For the same reason he caused to be recorded over again of every emperor, king, or prince, from the beginning down to his own time, all his good deeds, so as to keep them in memory. 'What a royal, noble soul this wise young king had! He is an example to all future kings and princes.'

Wimpheling writes of him to the same effect: 'Whatever tends to throw light on the history of the German people commands the entire sympathy of the king. He buries himself in old chronicles and histories; he has them collected and published, and is in

[1] Wise king.

constant correspondence about them with all the most learned men. He is at present consulting with the scholars of his neighbourhood with regard to publishing a popular book, under the title of "Picture Gallery of German Ancestors."'

Peutinger was engaged by Maximilian to prepare an exhaustive work on the emperors; and he also prepared, as a basis for a History of the House of Hapsburg, a kind of register, in furtherance of which the Emperor not only had chronicles and histories sent to him from far and near, but also himself instituted personal researches, which occasionally elicited the frank criticism of his learned friend. Maximilian set his historians, Johann Stabius, Ladislaus Suntheim, and Jacob Manlius, to explore a large part of Germany, Italy, and France in search of manuscripts.

Aided by the generosity of Maximilian, Conrad Celtes, accompanied by the mathematician Andreas Stiborius, travelled through Northern Germany with the object of compiling an historical, geographical, and statistical work. Wimpheling asserts that once, when hard up for money, Maximilian pawned a jewel which he prized highly in order to raise funds to make it possible to complete a scientific journey undertaken at his instigation. By imperial command Suntheim collected materials for a genealogical history of the House of Hapsburg and the other German princely dynasties; and also by imperial command Stabius and the Court physician and keeper of archives, Johann Spieshaimer, styled Cuspinianus, edited the first edition of 'Otto von Freising,' and his successor, 'Radevicus.'

There was so much coherence and system in all these enterprises of the Emperor that one might almost

say he had established a society for the promotion of the study of history and archæology, and had undertaken the presidency of it. But what was most gratifying in all this industry was the ultimate object for which it was carried on, viz. the encouragement of patriotism.

Maximilian did not confine his zeal to the restoration of historical monuments: he also saved many literary treasures, popular poems and folklore, from being forgotten or lost. We are indebted to him for the preservation of one of the most exquisite pearls of mediæval High German poetry, 'Die Gudrun,' which ranks with the 'Nibelungen' as a star of the first magnitude, and which he ordered to be placed among the parchments of the Ambrasian collection of manuscripts.

His own literary activity is best embodied in the 'Theuerdank' and the 'Weisskunig.' The former, an allegorical poem, is taken from the incidents of his own life. He composed the greater number of the songs with which it is interspersed, and they were then worked up and ornamented by his secretary, Melchior Pfinzing, provost of St. Albans in Mayence. This work, the first edition of which belongs to the wonders of typographical art, met with the warmest reception from his contemporaries, who recognised in it the noblest characteristics of the Emperor. As a poem it is wanting in taste; the language is grave and measured, but without force or fervour; the work is deficient in invention. The poet's object is to prove that, no matter how strong the temptations of life, a firm and full confidence in God will triumph over them; and he has succeeded in his object. A victim of suffering and privation, the hero pursues his way undaunted. He journeys through

a world at enmity with him, and reaches his goal by the help of a pure conscience and an unshaken trust in God. In reading the poem one is unconsciously reminded of Albert Dürer's 'Knight, Death, and Devil.'

While the allegorical poem 'Der Theuerdank' treats of the private life of Maximilian, the prose work 'Der Weisskunig' is founded on his public activity and the warlike incidents of his life.

Speaking of scholars, Maximilian used often to say that they ought to be rulers instead of subjects, and that they were worthy of all honour on account of the superior gifts with which God and nature had endowed them. It is therefore easy to see why he constantly sought their company, treated them with marked distinction, and confided matters of importance to them. Almost all his councillors were men of learning, friends and patrons of classic literature. Among them were the already mentioned Court historians, Ladislaus Suntheim, Jacob Manlius, and Johann Stabius. The latter, who since the year 1503 had accompanied the Emperor in nearly all his travels, was considered one of the most eminent scholars at the University of Vienna, and left several mathematical, historical, and astronomical works behind him. The imperial Court secretary, Sebastian Sprenz, later bishop of Brixen, was distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and mathematics. The imperial councillors Graf Ulrich von Helfenstein, Jacob Spiegel, Jacob Villinger, Jacob Bannisis, George Neudecker, and others, were praised by the Humanists as sound scholars and leaders of the new scientific movement; they did all in their power to encourage science and the study of it. Maximilian's chancellor and adviser, Matthias Lang, who was after-

wards bishop of Gurk and archbishop of Salzburg, was held in the highest estimation.

The Imperial Court was the centre of the highest culture, and the University of Vienna, 'the Emperor's pet child,' took the lead among all the German seats of learning.

The Universities . . . Conrad Celtes.

The University of Vienna had already in the reign of Frederick III. gained a world-wide renown through its great mathematicians and astronomers, Johann von Gmunden, George Peuerbach, and Johann Müller (surnamed Regiomontanus). In no other university were mathematics and astronomy taught by such excellent masters and with such brilliant results; Peuerbach and Regiomontanus, by their lectures on the Latin poets and prose writers, were the first to give an impetus to Humanistic studies. Bernhard Perger introduced a better method of teaching Latin, and with this object in view composed a guide to the Latin language founded on the Grammar of the Archbishop Nicholas of Siponto, of which eighteen editions are known to have appeared up to the year 1500. After the year 1457 the study of the Greek authors, including the most difficult of them,[1] was introduced at Vienna.

But the Humanist studies owed their success at Vienna pre-eminently to the services of the gifted Conrad Celtes, who was invited in 1497 by Maximilian himself to be professor at the university. In his thoroughly Greek materialistic views of life and his epicurean habits Celtes was not in harmony with the

[1] A proof of the incorrectness of the assertion that Reuchlin, who was born in 1455, was the first to teach Greek literature in Germany.

principles of the severe Christian schools of Humanists, but rather with the young progressive section of Germany. This brought down on him the strongly expressed opprobrium of the lofty-minded Charity Pirkheimer for having allowed himself to be carried away by the heathen classics. But there remains to him the credit of untiring zeal with which he laboured incessantly to awaken in all parts of Germany an interest in learning, and for having done so much both by word and by writing to develop the study of national history. He could boast of having travelled to the sources of all the principal rivers of Germany, of having seen her best cities, of having visited all her universities, and of having gained a better knowledge of her people than anyone before him had ever possessed. He had intended to sum up the results of these travels and of his long years of research in an exhaustive History of Germany and the Germans, but in the midst of his labours he died in 1508, at the age of forty-nine.

Many treasures of ancient literature, such as the works of Roswitha, the nun of Gendersheim, and the historical poem 'Ligurinus,' were rescued by him from oblivion. On this poem he gave lectures at Vienna. He was the first German professor who taught the history of the world in a connected and systematic manner at a university, and whose treatment of German history was of a nature to arouse among his pupils an interest in the past. Gifted with an unusual capacity for teaching, Celtes gathered around him a large number of zealous students, and he made special efforts to interest the nobility in science and literature. He enriched the imperial library, which had been founded and entrusted to his care by Maximilian, with Greek

and Latin books of great worth, with globes, maps, &c., so that by degrees it became a most valuable place of reference for students.

He also displayed great ability as the director of the so-called 'Academy of Poets,' founded at his suggestion by Maximilian in 1501 for the purpose of furthering the study of poetry and mathematics at the university, and of keeping up an interest in these subjects. This 'Academy,' the first of the kind connected with any German university, consisted of a group of learned men and promising students, who lived together in the same house, and it acquired the privilege of conferring an academic degree, that of 'the crowned poets.'

Celtes established in Vienna the 'Danube Society,' which was on the same principle as the 'Rhenish Literary Society,' which he had founded earlier for the furthering of the study of Humanities, *belles-lettres*, and science. It counted among its members Germans, Magyars, Slavs, and Italians. Among the most active of them was Cuspinian, who devoted himself from preference to historical studies. Besides other works he left one of much merit on the Roman emperors of the German nation, the material for which he had obtained by diligent research among Austrian archives and libraries. Other enthusiastic members of the society were the mathematician Johann Stabius, Andreas Stiborius, and the physician Bartholomew Steber, called Scipio, who were also all of them among the most highly esteemed professors of the university.

This university, with its hundreds of professors, undoubtedly reached its zenith of glory—its 'golden age'—under the patronage of Maximilian, who spared no pains or personal sacrifice to raise it to the foremost

rank of European universities. Even the University of Paris, according to the Humanist Loriti Glareanus, could not at that time compete with that of Vienna. The French chronicler Pierre Froissart, a man of remarkable learning and keen penetration, speaks with surprise of the number of distinguished scholars whom he met at Vienna, and of the vigorous intellectual activity of the students. He marvelled also at the genial, unconstrained life of the Court, and the friendly and confidential intercourse which existed between the Emperor and the men of letters. 'The Emperor,' he writes, 'not only calls them his friends, but treats them as such, and it appears to me that he seeks their society gladly, and is much influenced by them. There is certainly no other ruler who is so willing to learn from those more learned than he is, and whose own mind is so cultivated that his questions are themselves instructive.' [1]

The plastic arts also enjoyed the patronage and encouragement of Maximilian. He caused churches and castles to be built or repaired, employed brass-founders, armourers, workers in gold and silver, painters, wood-cutters, and copper engravers. Many of the finest works of art of that time owed their creation to his patronage. The noble monument on his own tomb at Innsbrück, which he and his friend Conrad Peutinger designed together, is the best testimony of the Emperor's artistic power.

[1] *Lettres*, pp. 14–16.

BOOK II

ART AND POPULAR LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

THE artistic development of a nation is a better index of the national genius than even its literature. The art of a people bears the impress of the popular mind, nay, is the embodiment of the popular ideas. This is particularly the case with the German people at the close of the Middle Ages. In those days German art was more strongly national and characteristic than at any time before or since. The masterpieces of that epoch have been the admiration of all succeeding centuries, and are manifestly the work of a people of high moral purpose, strong faith, and patriotic ardour.

Those masterpieces prove conclusively that the influence of the Church was as great in the realm of art as in the domain of science; and that, far from restricting the flight of genius, the Church supplied the most ideal subjects for the service of art.

Out of the close and intimate relations existing between the Church and its individual members proceeded the heartfelt faith, the sanctification of earthly things, the humble, unselfish devotion to higher ends, which inspired the art of the age. Art prospers only

in the days of strong faith and true courage, when men find greater joy in high ideals than in the merely practical things of life.

The Church enlisted art in the service of God, making use of it as a valuable supplement to the written and oral instruction which she gave the people. Artists thus became her allies in the task of 'setting forth the beauties of the Gospel to the poor and unlearned.' All the great artists grasped with fidelity this idea of the mission of art, and turned their talents into a means for the service of God and man. Their aim was, not to exalt beauty for its own sake, making an altar and an idol of it, but rather, according to Peter Fischer's inscription on the base of St. Sebald's shrine, 'For the setting forth of God's will.' They strove by the grandeur and elevation of their works to kindle admiration for the beautiful, and this not only for the sake of culture, but with a view to the moral training of the people; not for the luxurious gratification of the great and the wealthy, but for the glory of the Church and the elevation of national life.

All branches of art thus formed one great whole. Architects, sculptors, painters, musicians, worked in unison together, all actuated by the same religious and patriotic intention. And it was this unity that was at the bottom of their greatness. Owing to the close relationship thus existing between artists of six different branches it was no uncommon occurrence for a great artist to work in different lines—Albert Dürer, for instance, was painter, sculptor, wood cutter, and engraver all in one. He was distinguished, moreover, for his knowledge of perspective and architecture, and was not unskilled as a writer. So long as German art preserved

its religious and patriotic spirit it continued to flourish and to be a power all over the world. But in proportion as religious faith and earnestness dwindled, and ancient creeds and traditions were either forgotten or despised, art, too, declined. In proportion as men began to run after false gods and strove to resuscitate the dead world of heathendom, so artistic, creative, and ideal power gradually weakened, until it became altogether barren and lifeless.

Many examples still remain to testify to the dignity of German art at the close of the Middle Ages, but all of them, from the splendid cathedral to the simplest article of household furniture, are but poor and broken fragments of the real beauty and greatness of that period. The most magnificent creations of German mediæval art were either destroyed in the religious and political wars of the following centuries, the Peasant Wars, the Thirty Years' War, and the later French wars, or else carried away to perish in foreign lands. Even in times of peace, during the period of so-called 'enlightenment,' there raged an incredibly fierce spirit of antagonism against everything in art that bore the German stamp of Christian teaching.

CHAPTER I

ARCHITECTURE

In all nations dominated by genuine artistic feeling architecture forms as it were the nucleus of the communal art life. Architecture, more than any other art, gathers into its focus, reflects as in a mirror, all the various striving, knowing, and doing of the people, and is also the truest expression of the different movements and tendencies of thought of any given period. It affords the most reliable proof of the æsthetic sense and the artistic powers of a nation. It is the direct utterance of the mental and physical wants of the day; it stands in close relation to contemporary religious thought and feeling, and is the best index of the connection existing between art and social life. It forms the point of convergence of all other branches of art, and may justly be called *the national art* (*Volkskunst*) in every sense of the word.

German art, which grew up to greatness in the monasteries, was, like monasticism itself, a national growth, and it reached its climax in architecture towards the end of the Middle Ages. Nowhere did the innate architectural genius of the Teutonic races produce such truly great artists as in Germany.

True to the prevailing Christian tendency of thought, this German creative force manifested itself most exuberantly in the erection of churches and cathedrals.

In every part of Germany there arose countless magnificent ecclesiastical structures, witnesses of the deep religious spirit of the times, noble Christian poems embodied in stone and colour.

The Christian-Germanic, or so-called Gothic, art has been fitly described as the architectural embodiment of Christianity. A Gothic edifice not only represents organic unity in all its different parts, but is as it were an organic development from a hidden germ, embodying both in its form and material the highest truths, without any sham or unreality. All the lines tend upward, as if to lead the eye to heaven. The order, distribution, and strength of the different parts symbolise severally the ascendency of spirit over matter. All the details and carvings of its profuse ornamentation are in harmony with each other and with the fundamental idea of the edifice. Constructed on a fixed plan, in the spirit of sacrifice and prayer, many of these buildings, even in their present state of decay, strike the beholder with wonder, and excite him to piety and devotion.

If it be asked how it was possible for so great a number of admirable buildings to have been erected in Germany in such a comparatively short time, we have only to point to the extensive organisation among architects in those days, and the numerous 'building-unions' which existed.

Corporations, which are so consonant with German taste, were common among artists as well as in all other departments of life, and they enabled their members to reach the highest excellence. Within the respective guilds all hands in the masters' schools or the stonemasons' workshops, from the apprentice upward, were kept under strict discipline and trained

to a particular end; it was required of them that they should know their art practically as well as theoretically. Each pupil was obliged to go through a certain period of study and travel, and did not become a 'master' until he had executed some thoroughly good piece of workmanship. It is only by means of this strict guild discipline that the perfection to be found in a Gothic cathedral could have been attained. It was this mode of working in unison, this brotherhood existing between the stonecutters, carpenters, builders, locksmiths, &c., that produced the harmony by which all the minutest details of each part are blended into one great whole.

For the help and profit of the master-builders, and in order to prevent misunderstandings, discord, and jealousies among the members of different guilds, all the separate building societies united together towards the middle of the fifteenth century in one universal brotherhood. At two conventions of stonemasons, held at Ratisbon in 1459 and at Spires in 1464, all the different guilds formed themselves unanimously into the four principal associations of Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, and Bern, and elected the architect-in-chief of the Strasburg Cathedral to be their president and ruler. Every one of the guilds was placed under the same rules and bylaws, and bound itself to abide by that principle which is the basis of all success, 'Brotherhood, friendship, and obedience.' 'Without God and the compass, art and rule aid no one.'

In a stonecutter's 'code of rules' dated 1462 we read as follows: 'Masters and apprentices must be orderly, must uphold each other, and must attend each Sunday at High Mass, and receive Holy Communion at

least once a year.' Piety and faith were considered the strength of the guild. The code adds: 'Every master should keep his workshop clear of all disturbance and discord; a workshop should be as free and as orderly as a hall of justice.' Each member paid a weekly contribution for the support of the Church and for the benefit of sick members. All gambling, drunkenness, immorality, swearing, or cursing were severely condemned. Apprentices received all instruction gratis.

These societies were the most popular of the national institutions, and Maximilian's desire to be instructed in 'the art of the compass and whatever belonged to it,' and his being enrolled as a member of the builders' guilds, were regarded as the outcome of patriotism.

Outside the guilds many architects were to be found in the monasteries, particularly in those belonging to the Cistercians, Benedictines, and Dominicans. The latter had a sort of school of architecture in Strasburg.

So long as the technicalities of the art were handed down by tradition no books of instruction on architecture were written. It was only when the Renaissance movement broke in from foreign countries that this became necessary; just as had been the case with regard to German law when the Roman code began to come into vogue. By command of that ecclesiastical lover of art, Bishop William von Reichnau, the architect Matthew Roritzer of Ratisbon wrote (1486) a pamphlet, entitled 'Ueber der Fialen Gerechtigkeit,' in which in plain, unsophisticated fashion he described the principles of development of certain parts of a Gothic building. In the year 1516 the Palatinate

architect Lawrence Lacher wrote a similar work for his sons. In these early writings we already get glimpses of the truth that the highest art is the result of inward laws controlling the outward form, and that complete and harmonious beauty can only be produced by the union of freedom and law.

For centuries German architecture, uniting in this manner artistic freedom and technical exactitude, made its mark over the Christian world. It became naturalised in Italy through the cathedrals and churches of Milan, Florence, Orvieto, Assisi, and Siena, as well as through many other buildings, some of greater, some of lesser, importance. In the year 1481 we find Strasburg architects sent for to Italy to give their opinions with regard to the completion of the Milan Cathedral. 'The Germans,' said the Italian Paul Jovius, 'are carrying everything before them in art, and we sluggish Italians must needs send to Germany for good workmen.' Andrea Palladio, who died in 1580, one of the most influential promoters of the Renaissance architecture, pronounced the buildings of the German school to be the best in Italy.

In England, German architecture reigned supreme at this period, and left its stamp in the cathedrals and churches of Salisbury, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Winchester, Gloucester, Exeter, Beverley, Bristol, and York. In Spain and Portugal it embodied itself in the cathedrals of Barcelona, Leon, Oviedo, Toledo, Seville, and the monastery churches of Batalha and Belem. In Burgos, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, an architect from Cologne executed the most beautiful façade for a church. Palma, in the island of Majorca, is a Gothic city which looks as if it were all one construction. It is

probable that after the taking of the island by the Spaniards a colony of German stonecutters emigrated thither. Throughout Hungary also we find buildings of the German school of architecture, and partly executed by German masters, which challenge comparison with structures in any part of the world. The most striking mediæval buildings in the ancient Polish city of Cracow all bear the stamp of the German school.

It is true that in the Gothic edifices belonging to the close of the Middle Ages there is not seldom an overpowering wealth of ornamentation, but buildings were, nevertheless, always constructed 'according to the laws of compass and measure,' and wonderful beauty is to be found in the graceful and elegant designs of the ornamentation. In Germany, as well as in England and Spain, especially in the cathedrals of Segovia and Salamanca,[1] the later Gothic style is still characterised by great beauty and power. Immediately before the total decay of the architectural art in Germany, Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, founded the Cathedral of 'Our Lady of Brou,' which seems to combine all the different features of Gothic beauty in one sublime whole.

The influence of Germanic art continued to be felt during the first period of the so-called 'Renaissance,' for the fundamental principles of the earlier Renaissance architecture were in all essentials the same as had survived from the Middle Ages. The architects of the new school inherited the old technical skill and a wealth of noble forms and designs, and so long as they remained

[1] Street, in his *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, 2nd edit., pp. 428–432, considers these later Gothic cathedrals 'in some respects equal to the grandest works.'

true to the grand traditions of the past they produced much beautiful work.

So many ecclesiastical monuments of German mediæval art have been levelled to the ground that it is difficult to form an exact idea of the enthusiasm which then prevailed for the building of churches. The number, however, which have survived is so great that we have no hesitation in saying that at no other period of history were so many buildings erected for the worship of God as in that extending from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Reformation. This zeal pervaded the whole of Germany, and was found in small as well as in large towns; even in the villages there sprang up churches which in artistic beauty were equal to the great cathedrals, and in proportionate expenditure of labour and money were not outdone by the minster edifices of Freiburg and Ulm.[1]

Even in the remote northern parts of Germany, where culture was slow in penetrating, many churches were erected or remodelled between 1450 and 1515;[2] of such there are specimens in Berlin, Brandenburg, Breslau, Dantzic, Fürstenwald, Gardelegen, Gleiwitz, Güstrow, Havelberg, Heiligengrabe, Jüterbogk, Lübeck, Neu-ruppin, Neustadt-Eberswalde, Pelplin, Pritzwalk, Rostock, Salzwedel, Seehausen, Stendal, Stettin, Stralsund, Tangermünde, Thorn, Werben, Wilsnack, Wismar, Wittstock, Wolmirstädt, Wursthausen, and Ziesar. In many of these places the building of several churches

[1] The names of most of the architects of those buildings are unknown; but between 1450 and 1520 nearly two hundred architects are known, among whom may be mentioned Burkhard Engelberger in Augsburg, and the Roritzers in Ratisbon. See Sighart, pp. 418–495.

[2] In this list are mentioned only those buildings whose dates are authentic. Otte, pp. 489-623.

was carried on at the same time. In Dantzic, for instance, besides the magnificent 'St. Mary's' (1502), the noble St. John's (1460–1465), the Holy Trinity Church and the chapel of St. Anna, the choir of the Carmelite Church, the Church of St. Bartholomew, and others, were built or completed (1481–1495). In these districts, where they were reduced to working with bricks, the powers of North German master-builders were remarkably exemplified; for with this plain material they could produce the most magnificent work. They excelled specially in the art of making arches. The highest of these was to be found in Dantzic.

At Stuttgart the Church of St. Leonard was erected in 1474, the abbey church in 1490; and the hospital Church of St. Ulrich was commenced in 1467, while that of St. George was completed between 1490 and 1505. St. Maurice's dates from the same period. Among the most magnificent architectural works are the cathedral of Ratisbon (1486), of Ulm (1507), and the Frauenkirche of Munich, erected between 1468 and 1488.

Westphalia and the Rhenish Provinces kept pace with Suabia and Bavaria in architecture at this period. Among the Westphalian cathedrals and churches may be mentioned those of Blomberg, Bocholt, Borken, Coesfeld, Corbach, Dortmund, Everswinkel, Hamm, Liesborn, Lippstadt, Lüdinghausen, Mollenbeck, Münster, Nottuln, Rheine, Schwerte, Soest, Unna, Vreden, and Wedderen.

In the Rhenish Provinces may be mentioned Alzey, Andernach, Baden-Baden, Basle, Bern, Bingen, Bonn, Bruchsal, Calcar, Clausen near Treves, Cleves, Coblenz, Cologne, Constance, Cues on the Mosel, Duisburg, Elten, Emmerich, Essen, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Hernsheim

near Worms, Kiedrich, Lamdau in the Palatinate, Linz, Mayence, Meisenheim, Metz, Neustadt-on-the-Hardt, Rokeskyll near Adenau, St. Goar, Simmern and Sobernheim above Kreuznach, Strasburg, Thann, Treves, Worms, Xanten, Zug, and Zürich. In the last-mentioned city the Minster was built between 1480 and 1490; the Church of Our Lady between 1484 and 1507, and the Wasserkirche between 1479 and 1486. Architectural activity was at its height in Cologne in the fifteenth century. The following churches were all enlarged during the latter half of the fifteenth century: St. Ursula between 1449 and 1467; the Church of the Holy Apostles in 1451; St. Severin in 1479; the Church of the Friars Minor, St. Lawrence and St. Martin, in 1480; and the Church of St. John and Cordula in 1483. In the years 1456, 1493, and 1504 additions were made to the Church of St. Columba. In 1472, and again after 1491, St. Paul's was enlarged. The Church of the Maccabees was erected in 1462; the Chapel of St. Thomas in 1469; the Chapel of St. Catherine in 1474. In 1477 the Church and cloister of St. Apern; 1480, the Church and Monastery of Sion; about 1480 the Church of the Brothers of the Cross; in 1483 the Church and Monastery of Mommersloch; in 1489 the Baptistery of St. John's; 1490, the Church of the Weidenbach Brothers; 1493, the second Chapel of St. Mary of the Capitol; 1505, the Baptistery of St. Severin. Besides all this, operations were carried on intermittently at the great cathedral from 1447 to 1513.

In the Rhenish Provinces, where, on the whole, Christian architecture reached its highest development, the years from 1450 to 1515 were perhaps the most fruitful period of the Middle Ages. Grand structures

were erected even in small places: as, for instance, the beautiful parish church and the Chapel of St. Michael at Kiedrich in the Rheingau, and the 'Schwanenkirche' near Forst-on-the-Maifeld. The latter may perhaps be said to mark the highest point of art in buildings of this sort. It shows also in a striking manner how the architects of those days could adapt themselves to circumstances, and could deal equally skilfully with small matters and with large ones.

The development of architecture went hand in hand with that of science. At the same time, for instance, as the newly founded Universities of Basle and Freiburg were enjoying their first flush of success, there were erected in Basle (1470–1487), the south tower of the Minster (1484–1500), and the Church of St. Leonard (1496–1503), and at Freiburg the cathedral choir, with its beautiful circle of chapels, was built between 1471 and 1509. Frankfort-on-the-Main exhibited at that period a zeal in church building which was quite remarkable when compared with its history at other times. The Church of St. Peter was added to in 1452; the *Weissfraukirche* in 1455, the *Liebfrauenkirche* in 1458, the Church of the Teutonic Order in 1485, and the Church of St. Leonard and the cathedral in 1512.

In Franconia and Hesse also hundreds of churches were erected. The following catalogue is the result of accurate researches made in a single division of these lands, viz. the present Prussian administrative district of Cassel.

In the following places ecclesiastical buildings were either newly erected, or restored, or enlarged: Asmushausen, 1518; Bischofsheim, 1512; Breitenau, 1508;

Bruch-köbel, 1505; Bürgeln, 1500; Cassel, 1483; Cathrinhagen, 1517; Connefeld, 1514; Fulda, 1447; Fürstenhagen, 1489; Eschwege, 1446–1494, 1450–1466; Frankenberg, 1515; Friemen, 1498; Gelnhausen, 1467; Gemünden, 1485; Gudensberg, 1500; Haindorf, 1449; Hanau, 1474 and 1505; Cassel, 1483; Harle, 1492; Hofgeismar, 1449 and 1460; Marburg, 1447–1473; Margretenhaun, 1487; Möllenbeck, 1505; Nassenerfurt, 1512; Naumburg, 1512; Niederelsungen, 1515; Nieder-Hohne, 1508; Niederwalgern, 1479; Petersberg, 1479; Rauschenberg, 1453 and 1508; Retterode, 1453; Riebelsdorf, 1500; Rosenthal, 1518; Rotenburg, 1484–1501; Schlierbach, 1460; Schmalkalden, 1509; Schönberg, 1490; Schweinsberg, 1506; Soden, 1464; Sontra, 1483–1493; Spangenberg, 1486; Spiesscappel, 1500–1504; Steinau, 1481 and 1511; Trendelburg, 1458; Wächtersbach, 1514; Waldcappel, 1501; Wehrda, 1490; Wetter, 1506; Willingshausen, 1511; Windecken, 1495; and Wolfterode, 1515.

From this list we learn that one-fourth of the churches which, despite the ravages of the war, are still standing in this imperial province date from the latter part of the fifteenth century.

To turn to another district, we find that nearly half of the churches of any note in both the Alsatian districts of Kaisersberg and Rappoltsweiler belong to the same period.[1]

All this goes to prove how influential at this period the Church, for whose service all these buildings were erected, must have been throughout the whole of Germany. Such a multitude of beautiful places of

[1] See Straub, *Statistique monumentale des Cantons de Kayserberg et de Ribauville.* Strasburg, 1860.

worship could not have been built had not a Christian spirit of piety and devotion pervaded all classes of society. It was not the love of art which superinduced piety, but the pious character of the people combined with its high mental culture expressed itself in a love of Christian works of art. The nation put forth its best efforts in these works, and all participated in the expense by larger or smaller alms according to their means.

To see this we have only to look at the building accounts of the church at Xanten, from which we learn that the foreman of the works received from one a bed, from another a coat, from a third a measure of corn, from a fourth a cow, and so on, to be disposed of for the benefit of the building fund. Helmets, coats of mail, weapons, and so forth, were hung in the choir of the church and sold for the same purpose. Here a citizen offers his jewellery, there a landed proprietor makes contributions of tithes; others bring building materials, others subscribe the money they would have paid as entrance-fee to a club or association; a man-servant gives a few small coins, a poor old woman some pennies. The very masons employed gave with one hand what they received as wages with the other.

The same feelings prevailed in Frankfort-on-the-Main. When the building of the cathedral was proceeding, the Brotherhood of St. Bartholomew appointed a person who sat all day by the picture of 'The Agony in the Garden' in the cemetery to receive contributions. The poor people brought not only money, but household articles and clothing as contributions. Calves, pigs and poultry were given as donations, and these the Brotherhood undertook to care for until they were

fit to be killed and sold. Every Saturday the collector put the goods up for auction. Not unfrequently a man would give his harness or his best coat, or a woman some of her wearing apparel, to be disposed of.

In a manuscript chronicle of the Cathedral of Ulm we find it related that near the parish church building office a hut was erected to which each might bring his or her offerings. 'No apron, bodice, or necktie would be disdained.' All the articles were to be disposed of at a certain market to the best advantage for the benefit of the church. Certain citizens engaged to supply horses and men to work for periods varying from a year to a month. In this manner the work progressed at such a rate that by the year 1488 the magnificent temple with its tower, was not only built and roofed, but furnished with fifty-two altars, and all this without any outside help. According to the accounts the building and steeple cost nine tons (*Tonnen*) of gold. In the year 1452 Claus Lieb had the wonderfully beautiful sacristy built at his own cost, and by his request (for in those days it was the privilege of the founder to put up a tablet or his coat of arms), his anvil and hammer were buried in the foundation, and the inscription 'Claus Lieb, surnamed the goldsmith,' was engraved over the sacristan's door. In the year 1517 the 'Mount of Olives' was finished near the cathedral. It consisted of three images besides Christ and His three apostles, and cost the donor, Maria Tausendschöne (a confectioner), seven thousand guldens.

The erection of so many grand churches was due to the unanimity and generosity of all classes, from the richest and highest to the humblest and poorest. Town and country vied with each other in pious emulation

of faith and zeal and artistic taste, and this, too, at a time when immense sums were also being generously devoted to establishing foundations for various benevolent objects. In the year 1477 the Pope, in a rescript addressed to the civil authorities of Frankfort-on-the-Main, warns them against allowing the city to 'impoverish itself' through over-generosity to the Church.'

In ecclesiastical architecture art found a means of clear and vigorous expression. But it by no means confined its powers to the service of the Church. Every department of life, both public and private, came equally under its beautifying influence.

Next to providing worthy temples for the service of God, architects endeavoured to serve the cause of public good and freedom, and one result was the erection of those wondrous towers, portcullises, and fortalices, marvels of strength, for the destruction of which, modern mechanical appliances have scarcely proved adequate. They built halls of justice, arsenals, assembly-halls, and guildhalls for social gatherings. The city towers and gates were often built by the most eminent architects. While the different towns vied with each other in raising structures to the honour and glory of the Lord of heaven and earth, care was also taken to have public buildings which would be testimonials to posterity of the power, prosperity, and culture of the period. It was not only in times of peace, but often amid the clash of arms, that these monuments grew up.[1]

[1] Justus Moser says: 'It must be acknowledged that in former times houses were not as well lighted, but this may be in some measure

Germany was equally well supplied with sacred and with secular buildings. The houses of the nobles and well-to-do citizens, with their high-reaching gables, their artistic and appropriate windows, cornices, and innumerable projections, as well as the plain wooden cottages of the peasants, were all alike witnesses to the love of the beautiful which was so common among the people of the fifteenth century.

In order to form an idea of the architectural distinction of Germany in former times we recommend the study of Merian's illustrations to Zeiler's 'Topography.'

accounted for by the necessity then existing of fortifying cities.' See Reichensperger, *Christ. germanische Baukunst*, pp. 20, 30, 32, 37.

CHAPTER II

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

In Germany, as in all other countries, the development of architecture went on simultaneously with that of the sister arts of sculpture and painting. Architecture needs the co-operation of these two arts, and can only reach perfection by an intimate connection with them; as, on the other hand, sculpture and painting only continue to flourish so long as they have their centre in architecture.

The walls of the temples of God once finished, it was necessary to relieve their bareness by colour, and to ornament them by pictures and statues which would represent the persons and teachings to whose honour they were erected, and, so to speak, 'be admonitors to a higher life.' The Christian religion required that the place where the Saviour dwells and condescends, in love and grace, to become one with men, and where the faithful are lifted up to heaven through prayer and devotion, should be decorated with all that is most beautiful on earth and best calculated to hallow and purify the imagination. Hence painting and sculpture may be said to have grown out of architecture, and attained, in the service of the Church, to the highest expression of Christian life and feeling. A wonderful depth of lofty idealism and childlike simplicity, of natural grace combined with supernatural sanctity,

seems to breathe forth from the great masterpieces of these arts.

The churches were not only houses of prayer, but also monumental exponents of Biblical history. They were also museums, always open to any among the people, historical galleries, where from year to year fresh works of art were always being placed. By constant contemplation of these works from earliest youth artistic taste was cultivated; and artists were kept well employed, for new orders were constantly given, both by individuals and societies.

Each wealthy family, each guild or society, each brotherhood, wished to have its own artistic monument to the honour of God—either a picture, a statue, a stained-glass window, or an altar. The different members of the donor's family were sometimes themselves represented at the feet of the sacred subject; and the artist often drew a representation of himself in some corner of the group of praying figures, or, as in the case of Adam Krafft in the Chapel of the Sacrament in St. Lawrence's in Nuremberg, kneeling as if in prayer, clad in his working apron and with his tools in his hands.

All provinces of life, secular as well as religious, public as well as private, were beautified and idealised by painting and sculpture. The city halls, arsenals, and other public buildings, the houses of the wealthy burghers, which were almost art galleries, all testified to the universal culture of the times. Nor were the dwellings of the poor left undecorated; they always had an image or picture of the family patron saint on the front. Even the public thoroughfares showed how closely the love of art was connected with the everyday

life of the people. The streets, with their frescoed walls, were like illustrated chronicles, which told more of the habits of the people than many books written on the subject. Distinguished artists used to practise their hands at these mural frescoes, and in some cases produced better results than in their other works, thus exhibiting their masterpieces on the homely burgher dwellings of the streets. Large sums were often expended upon the decoration of streets. In Nuremberg, for instance, the gilding of the fountain (1447) cost the city five hundred florins, and the regilding of the same in 1491 four hundred. All the masterworks of the period are of a decidedly national character.

Although art is the common property of mankind, and has its roots in the universal life of humanity, it is at the same time the particular expression of the mind under its special racial conditions. Like language and customs, it has its first origin in the religious feelings of the people. Art expresses the inner life of a nation, its highest thoughts and aspirations, by pictures and statues, as language does by words, or as culture does by the manners of social intercourse. The German artists of the fifteenth century threw all their intense patriotism into their works. One can almost discover all the specialities of the different German tribes by examining the works of the different artists. As every large German city had its own dialect, so, too, it had its peculiarities in art characteristics.

All those admirable artists who produced such a variety and multitude of beautiful works were plain, humble citizens or labourers belonging to the city corporations. Anyone wishing to devote himself to art went to the studio of a master, learned how to prepare

the necessary materials, worked at the ordinary tasks of his trade, ascended step by step in his apprenticeship, studied the works and style of his master, and then set out on his 'Wanderjahre.' When he had succeeded in producing something of real merit he ceased to be an apprentice; but until then he continued to work with the master and to help in executing the orders which the latter received. The masters themselves worked as painters, sculptors, carvers, glass-workers, braziers, bell-casters, goldsmiths, bronzers, with their apprentices. They all ate at the same table, slept under the same roof, maintaining meanwhile the strictest discipline.

Among the large number of those whose lives are a record of the development of artistic life in Germany, and who show now how closely art was bound up with everyday existence and how thoroughly it was in touch with the real needs of the age, we will take as an example the life of Jacob Heller, draper and alderman, of Frankfort-on-the-Main. This man was highly respected by his fellow-citizens for his known excellence and his knowledge of business. He had seen a good deal of the world, had been at Rome in 1500, and on several occasions he had represented the city in the Imperial Parliament and abroad. His numerous foundations and legacies are a witness of his benevolence and fellow-feeling for the poor and the afflicted, of his loving forethought for his own dependents, and the perfect kindliness of his relations with his faithful domestic servants. Out of patriotism and love of learning he gave a large sum to build a library for the general use of the city, and, desiring to have a part even after death in the beautifying and improving of Frankfort, he bequeathed large sums for the erection of

public buildings, churches, &c. Deep, earnest piety and strong faith and loyalty to the Church were the motives which influenced his whole life, and the mainsprings of his patronage of art. He kept painters and glass-workers, sculptors and founders, goldsmiths and makers of church raiment at work executing his orders and embodying his piety in lasting forms of art; and for many of the costly vestments which he ordered for the town churches or for outlying churches and monasteries he himself gave minute directions as to the material and design. For instance, a High Mass vestment for the Dominican monastery in Frankfort was to be 'of red velvet of the most beautiful kind, fashioned in the richest and most costly manner, adorned with a handsome cross, and figures of John and Mary. His own and his wife's armorial bearings were also to be inserted. He ordered, moreover, two dalmatics and a cope with St. James and St. Catherine embroidered on them, for which his wife's pearls were to be used, and on which, besides the pearls, eighty, or if necessary one hundred, florins were to be spent, in order that 'it might be worthy of being dedicated to the honour of God.' While still living he had a bronze statue, representing Death, made for his tomb in the Dominican cloister.[1] In the Church of Our Lady he had placed a sculptural representation of Christ and His sleeping disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane, for the preservation of which he left an endowment. These things, however, were of small artistic value compared with the altar-piece which he had executed by Albert Dürer in 1509 for the Dominican church, and the 'Calvary,' by an unknown sculptor, which he presented to the cathedral in

[1] It was afterwards melted and sold to Jews.

the same year. The altar-piece, representing the Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin, was much admired at the time, and for more than a century enjoyed a widespread reputation. The 'Calvary' is the finest specimen of mediæval sculpture which Frankfort possesses. It consists of seven figures larger than life-size, all of them marvels of lifelike work and finished chiselling. Particularly beautiful is the majestic figure of the Christ, whose drooping head and sorrow-stricken countenance are exceedingly impressive. At the base of this group is the following inscription in Latin: 'In the year 1509 this was erected by Jacob Heller and his wife, Catherine von Molhaim, inhabitants of Nuremberg, in their own name and that of their ancestors, to the honour of our glorious Conqueror, Jesus Christ, and in the hope that God may grant grace to the living and eternal rest to the dead.' The Bible texts which are interspersed here and there among the group and in the folds of the drapery are extremely interesting, as showing the spirit in which the monument was erected. The final text, 'And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar,' [1] had evident reference to his own name and to the fact that the 'Calvary' was erected to the memory of the living and the dead, and as a place of devotion for present and future generations. He also directed that 'the rector of the school [St. Bartholomew's] and six boys should perform devotions in front of this crucifix in honour of the Passion every Friday of the year.' He left an endowment for keeping two lamps constantly burning before the 'Calvary' in the Church of Our Lady.

[1] Gen. xxviii. 18.

In those days Christians considered all good works as pleasing to God—as performed 'through God'—that is, in obedience to the command of God to do good works, such as the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the building and ornamenting of churches, and whatever is conducive to bringing men's thoughts to piety. All these works should be performed for 'God's glory and in order to obtain happiness in the other world.' [1]

The natural result of the general belief in the doctrine of the efficacy of good works was that neither State nor city had to be taxed for the current expenses of schools, hospitals, churches, or the support of the poor, as all these objects were amply provided for by voluntary contributions. To this cause also innumerable works of art—monuments of religious and patriotic ardour—owe their origin.

The little town of Calcar, on the Lower Rhine, in whose church are still extant a number of exquisite pictures and specimens of sculpture, is a good example of this.[2] In Calcar were several brotherhoods, among which those of Our Lady and of St. Anne appear to have distinguished themselves by generous orders for works of art. In 1492 the latter society gave a commission to Master Derick Bongert for the very beautiful carved altar to the Holy Family which is still in existence. In the accounts of the Society of 'Our Lady' are charges for a 'Burial of Christ' executed by a Master Arnt, and for a carved altar by Master Ewert in 1492. In 1498 the same 'Brotherhood' decided to erect an altar in honour of the Passion of our Lord. The president.

[1] *Der Seelenführer*, p. 9.
[2] Wolf, *Ueber die St. Nicklai Kirche in Calcar*, 1880.

accompanied by the pastor, Johann Houdaen (doctor and formerly professor of theology), went to Utrecht in order to examine altars there. An artist whom they took with them made drawings, assisted by Master Arnt. The best wood was procured from Amsterdam, Nymwegen, and the Reichswald, and immediately on their return a carpenter from Calcar was employed to construct the framework of the altar; the rest of the work was then divided among different sculptors and carvers of Calcar according to their particular qualifications. Thus the groups of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the feast of the Paschal Lamb, and the washing of the disciples' feet, which adorn the base, were assigned to Jan van Haldern. The fluting and ornamentation were done by Derick Jeger, and the upper portion, representing the sufferings of Christ, was the work of Master Lodewich, the renowned carver. This marvellously beautiful work of art was completed in 1500, and the president of the society handed Master Lodewich the sum of one hundred and seventy-eight gold florins in payment. This same society assigned the execution of the exquisite altar in honour of the Mother of Sorrows to another citizen of Calcar, Master Heinrich Douwermann. Between 1505 and 1508 the beautiful choir stalls, which rank among the best specimens of art in the Rhenish Provinces, were built and carved by Heinrich Bernts. For this work the church gave him two hundred gold florins, two quarters of rye, four casks of beer, and, as a compliment to his wife, a mantle and five yards of silk from Ypres, in Flanders. The candelabrum in the Virgin's chapel, which measured thirteen feet in height and seven in width, and is a marvel of its kind, was also begun by Heinrich Bernts,

but, as he died before its completion, it was finished in 1510 by Master Kerstken, of Ringenbergh, a citizen of Calcar.

Besides the sixteen carvers whose names became famous in Calcar, there were at the same time a number of painters at work in the little town. The names of thirteen of them are still known, and among these Jan Joest, commonly known as Master Jan von Calcar, who died in 1519, is the most important. In 1505 the Society of Our Lady entrusted him with the work of executing the four panels of the high altar, the designs for which were made by the superior of the neighbouring Ursuline convent. We have records also of two glass-workers of the years 1485–1515, and eight silk-embroiderers, by whom the church vestments, flags, and other articles of church decoration, all richly embroidered with devices in pearls and precious stones, were executed. Among these embroiderers we may mention a certain Brother Egbert, probably a Dominican friar. Several organs were also constructed in Calcar, but we know nothing of these beyond what is set down in the account-books kept between 1482 and 1519.

In the art remains of Calcar we find the same close connection between sculpture and painting which existed in the earliest times, particularly in Greece. Sculpture in stone, wood, and ivory was coloured, and we find bas-relief work introduced into paintings.

The Plastic Art.

Sculpture comes next in order to architecture. Its business is to furnish and decorate the spaces produced by the architect. In their best period we find the two

arts closely bound up together, and the masterpieces of sculpture bear the clear stamp of their relation to their mother-art. The greater number of the masterworks of the fifteenth century have been destroyed, but we have yet remaining many good specimens in stone, metal, and wood—such as statues on domes, churches, chapels, and private houses; porches; altars covered with figures in low and high relief; bronze altars, tabernacles, organ frames, baptismal fonts; monuments for tombs in stone and brass; chancel and choir stalls; church vessels of all sizes and in different metals: monstrances, ciboriums, reliquaries, altar-crosses, croziers, candelabra, and other metal work; drinking cups, scabbards, and the like.

The business of the goldsmiths and silversmiths was particularly brisk and diversified, and many of them produced results which quite equalled, if they did not surpass, the best Greek and Oriental work. This branch of art reached its highest perfection at Nuremberg, Cologne, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Landshut, and Mayence. In the year 1475 there were more than thirty thousand goldsmiths in Mayence, and many whose names have come down to posterity were citizens of Augsburg, Ratisbon, and Landshut.[1] The famous goldsmith, George Seld, was employed for twenty-six years in Augsburg at the construction of a silver altar for the cathedral. It was a representation of the scenes of the Last Supper, the Passion, and the Resurrection, and it weighed almost two hundred pounds.

The goldsmiths' trade in Nuremberg often numbered more than fifty 'masters,' who had large workshops and

[1] Sighart, pp. 551–554. There is hardly a German town of that period which did not claim some renowned goldsmith. See Myer, i. 475.

sent specimens of their handicraft all over Europe. They did not confine their business to mere ornamental works, costly vases and so forth, but excelled in modelling figures and casting them in different metals. The ornaments of that period were all of great artistic value. They represented all kinds of figures, single and in groups, religious and secular, and done in metal and enamel—enamelled peacocks, for instance, with dazzling tails; the figures of ladies with light-coloured dresses and golden crowns studded with pearls and precious stones. In 1509 the council of Nuremberg ordered gold, silver, and enamelled flowers of great beauty to be made for Ladislaus, king of Hungary. In 1512 it presented Lawrence, the bishop of Würtzburg, with a silver reliquary on which the emblems of the months of the year were most artistically carved.[1]

In order to form some idea of the wealth of gold and silver work in Germany in the fifteenth century we have only to read the treasure-lists of some of the churches, such as the Church of Our Lady in Nuremberg in 1466, and the Cathedral of Freising in 1482. In the inventory of the Cathedral of Passau we read of silver reliquaries in the shape of churches and towers, of twenty silver branches, of forty silver statues, shrines, and monstrances. In the Cathedral of Bern, among other treasures, were a silver statue of the Christ weighing thirty-one pounds, two silver-gilt angels of eighty pounds weight, silver busts of St. Vincent and St. Achatius, a massive casket for relics of the patron saint

[1] A decree of the council of Nuremberg in 1552, directing the spoiling of the churches, gives some of the art wealth of the city. The gold and silver weighed 900 lbs. and brought 1,700 marks. The works of Albert Dürer were sold as 'Papist pictures' to Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Hollanders.

weighing twenty-eight pounds and set with precious stones valued at two thousand ducats, and the statues of the Twelve Apostles, each weighing twenty-four pounds. We find, furthermore, that in the year 1462 the Abbot Conrad, of Tegernsee, bought two silver reliquaries and four monstrances, one of which, ornamented with a representation of the Mother of God, cost five hundred and twenty-five florins. A figure of the Blessed Virgin surrounded by an aureole cost more than five hundred florins. There were silver statues of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, a pectoral cross of pure gold and precious stones, a large mitre, a chain and cross, many reliquaries, and eighteen chalices. Articles of this sort were also in the possession of private individuals.

There is still to be seen in the Cathedral at Khur a silver-gilt monstrance, three feet high, made in 1490, the figures and ornamentation of which are marvels of art. It is surpassed in cost but not in beauty by the Ostensorium of Master Lucas, citizen and councillor of Donauwörth in 1513, which represented in wonderful enamel work coats of arms, forty figures and inscriptions, and was presented to the monastery by Maximilian.

Nuremberg attained quite as high a reputation for its bronzes as for its silver and gold work. As early as the year 1447 the poet Hans Rosenplüt wrote thus of the workers in bronze: 'In Nuremberg I find many workers in brass who have no equals. Everything that flies or runs, swims or poises, man, angel, bird or brute, fish or worm, every creature of ornamental form, everything that is on earth, they can fashion out of bronze. Nothing comes amiss to their art. Their skill and works are seen in many lands. It is meet that they be

named and acknowledged as great artists. None such could Nimrod find to build the Tower of Babylon. Therefore I sing the praise of Nuremberg, for it excels other cities in clever and skilful men':

Viel meister vindt ich in Nurnbergk,
Der sein ein teil auf rotschmid werk,
Der geleichen in aller werth nit lebt.
Was fleucht und lauft, schwimbt oder schwebt,
Mensch, engel, vogel, visch, wurm und tyr
Und alle creatur in loblicher zyr,
Und alles das aus der erden mag entspriessen,
Desgleichen konnen sie aus messing giessen
Und keinerley stuck ist in zu schwer,
In Kunst und erbeit wird offenbar,
In mangen landen, vern und weit.
Sind das in gott solch weisheit geit,
So sein sie wol wert, dass man sie nennt,
Und fir gross kunstig meister erkennt,
Wer Nimrot nit solch meister gewann,
Der den turn liess pauen zu Babilan,
Darumb ich Nurnbergk preis und lob,
Wan sie leit allen steten ob,
Mit klugen, kunstreichen mannen.

The most renowned of the Nuremberg metal-workers was Peter Vischer, a simple coppersmith, who brought the art of casting to the highest perfection. Neudörfer writes of him: 'This Peter Vischer was affable towards all and expert in natural sciences, and was so renowned for his skill in casting that any prince or potentate visiting the city rarely omitted going to his workshop.' Unassuming, modest, and greedy after learning, even in his old age, he was to be seen every day working in his foundry. Through a long life he maintained the closest intimacy with the stone-cutter Adam Krafft and the coppersmith Sebastian Lindenast. The three, according to Neudörfer, 'grew up together and were like brothers. On feast days

they went on excursions together as though they were still young apprentices; often, too, going without food or drink.' In his masterpiece, the shrine of St. Sebald, in the church of that name in Nuremberg, Vischer represented himself at the base with a full beard, clad in the garb of a metal-caster, with apron, cap, and hammer.

On this work Vischer was employed from the year 1508–1519, assisted by his five sons. At the base was engraved the sentence: 'Erected to the glory of God Almighty and the honour of the prince of heaven, St. Sebald, by the alms of pious souls.' It weighed one hundred and fifty-seven tons twenty-nine pounds; and in clearness of execution, sublimity of conception, and richness of fancy it was equalled by perhaps only one work of its kind in that century—Ghiberti's great bronze gate in Florence. This fine piece of sculpture admits of many different interpretations, but the leading intention of the master seems to have been to represent the honour which the world paid to the Saviour. Deriving all good from Him, creatures glorified Him and returned to Him—Nature with all her produce, heathendom with its heroic deeds and its natural virtues, the Old Testament with its prophets, and the New with the Apostles and saints. The Infant Christ, enthroned at the summit, holding the earth in His hand, typifies the beginning and the end of all creation. The statues of the Apostles are unsurpassed in expressiveness and masterly execution, though several of them certainly do not exhibit the solemn repose and serenity of the older plastic art; the unrestful attitudes of the figures strike one as an expression of the stirring religious life of the period.

Among the other extant works of Vischer, the most remarkable are the tombs of the bishop of Bamberg and of Margaret Tucher in the Cathedral of Ratisbon, representing the raising of Lazarus. For the grand sepulchral monument that Maximilian ordered at Innsbrück, Vischer executed the statue of the English King Arthur, which is remarkable for its dignified calm and the beauty of its finish. According to Neudörfer, Vischer's best works in bronze, which were scattered throughout Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, and were in the possession of many of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, are entirely unknown at the present day.

The works of his friend Sebastian Lindenast, who could make statues, drinking-vessels, buckles and other ornaments out of copper which looked as beautiful as if made of gold and silver, are likewise lost. Between the years 1506 and 1509 Lindenast embellished the artistic clock of the Frauenkirche at Nuremberg with a statue of the Emperor Charles IV. on his throne, and a herald standing before him. This clock is a most ingenious specimen of artistic mechanism. The hours are struck by a figure of Death, and at the sound two horn-blowers near the throne blow their instruments, the electoral princes walk out of a door, pass before the Emperor, salute him, and then disappear through an opposite door.[1]

In Northern Germany, the principal brass foundries were in Brunswick, Dortmund, Erfurt, Leipsic, Magdeburg, and Zwickau. One of the best examples of

[1] See Otte, pp. 264, 719; Baader, i. 73, 99–111. Most of the figures were sold as old copper, only the Emperor and his heralds being spared.

bronze work was the tabernacle in the Church of Our Lady of Lübeck; it was over thirty feet high, and was the joint work of the goldsmith Nicholas Rughesee and the founder Nicholas Gruden, in the year 1479.

The innumerable metal tablets in the floors and walls of the churches are interesting in many ways, and give a good idea of the notions of death current in the Middle Ages.

The art of bell-founding also reached perfection in the fifteenth century. The largest bells of the Cathedral of Cologne, cast in 1448 and 1449, that of St. Mary's Church in Dantzic, cast in 1453, that in Erfurt, 1497, excel all bells of earlier or later periods both in workmanship and ornamentation and in their musical beauty of tone.[1] Side by side with metal-work, sculpture and carving in wood and stone made also immense strides at this period.[2] Adam Krafft, the friend of Vischer, was the most celebrated and the most prolific among sculptors in stone; and by his simplicity, sterling worth, and warmth of heart, he was a good representative of the German character of the day. He may be compared to Albert Dürer in these respects. He surpassed all other German artists in his power of representing the sorrowful Passion of our Lord. Krafft's best works in Nuremberg belong to the years between 1490 and 1507. A story connected with his most famous sculptural achievement, 'The Seven Pictures of the Passion,'

[1] 'The bells made in far-off antiquity and by the Catholics of the Middle Ages were cast of the best metal,' said Hahn, *Campanalogie* (Erfurt, 1822). L. von Ledebur said: 'With the Reformation the casting of harmonious bells ceased.'

[2] Ivory carving preceded wood carving. For evidence of the reputation of German ivory carvers in Italy see G. Schafer (Darmstadt, 1872), p. 74.

affords good evidence of the religious spirit of the time. A citizen of Nuremberg named Martin Ketzel made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1477 in order to measure the exact distance between Pilate's house and Mount Calvary. Having lost the measure on his way home, he made a second pilgrimage in 1488, and in 1490 he commissioned Adam Krafft to erect seven stone pillars between his own house (afterwards known as Pilate's House) and the St. John's Cemetery according to the measure brought home. On each pillar was a large representation in relief of a scene from the Passion, with a descriptive inscription and its exact distance from Pilate's house. They are most remarkable and touching groups, particularly the last, on which is inscribed: 'Here lies Christ dead before His Blessed Mother, who with heart-broken grief weeps and mourns.' The reclining dead body is carefully and tenderly supported by Joseph of Arimathea. The sorrowful Mother draws the head, from which the crown of thorns has just fallen, towards her. Mary Magdalen, at the Saviour's feet, wets the winding-sheet with her tears. Each figure represents the deepest and sincerest feeling. The clothing is copied from the dress of the citizens of Nuremberg, which increases the realistic impression of the group.

A representation of the burial of Christ, executed by the same artist by order of the art-connoisseur and curator Sebald Schreyer in the year 1492, is characterised by the same dignity and devotional feeling, with even greater grace of execution. Between the years 1496 and 1500 Krafft received a commission from Hans Imhoff to construct a tabernacle for the Church of St. Lawrence. It was sixty-four feet high and was

supported by three kneeling figures, for which the artist and two of his apprentices served as models. Supported by three life-sized kneeling figures, it rises up like a beautiful flowery tree, whose branches and leaves grow out of the stone and end in an exquisitely carved, crozier-like blossom. The pillars are adorned with carved figures of saints, and the door is guarded by two angels. Whereas the Blessed Sacrament had been instituted as a commemoration of the redemptive death of Christ, the artist introduced into his work a series of scenes from the Passion, ending with the Resurrection, which stand for all believers as the great outcome of the Last Supper. The only work which surpasses this one in beauty is the 'Sacraments-Haus' in the Cathedral of Ulm, which was executed between 1461 and 1469 by the 'Meister' von Weingarten at the order of Angelica Zaehringer. The latter is one of the best specimens dating from the Middle Ages. The carving is so delicate that it resembles lacework. In former decades the old tradition referring to the often truly filagree-like work of the stonecutters and sculptors, viz. that the work consisted of cast stone, has been regarded as a myth, and the art of casting stone has been numbered nowadays among lost arts. But the researches of more recent times have shown the correctness of that supposition. As to height, the 'Sacraments-Haus' of Ulm exceeds that of Nuremberg by one-half.

Dill Riemenschneider carried on a style of art akin to that of Krafft, and had large workshops in Würtzburg. His principal works are a 'Descent from the Cross' for the monastery at Maidbrunn, the monuments of the bishops Rudolph von Scherenberg and Lawrence von Bibra in the Cathedral at Würtzburg, and the monu-

ment erected in 1499–1513 to the emperor Henry II. and his wife Kunigunde in the Cathedral at Bamberg. On this monument repose the figures of the two saints, and they are characterised by great beauty of proportion and finish. On the four sides are illustrations in high relief of traditionary legends. Riemenschneider also carved the very beautiful altar in the Church of St. Kilian at Heilbronn.

Among the most versatile artists of that period we must mention Veit Stoss, born in 1447, who worked alternately in Cracow and at Nuremberg. He was wood-carver, sculptor, engraver, painter, mechanic, and architect all in one. In the year 1489 he completed the high altar of the Church of Our Lady in Cracow, in 1492 the monument of King Casimir in the cathedral, and, in 1495, 147 stalls in the choir of the Church of Our Lady. Stoss's influence in the art circles of Poland and Hungary was of decided importance. The German style is unmistakable in all the specimens of sculpture still extant in the Zipser *Comitât*. In Nuremberg also Stoss was indefatigable in his industry, and his patrons and customers extended from Transylvania to Portugal. Neudörfer writes of him: 'He executed in coloured wood carving, for the king of Portugal, life-size statues of Adam and Eve of such perfection that they seemed to be of living flesh and blood. Moreover, he showed me a map which he had drawn of all the mountains, valleys, cities, rivers, and forests.' [1]

[1] Veit Stoss is the only one among the great artists of the Middle Ages whose character could be assailed. In a lawsuit he forged a signature (see *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, x. 667), for which he was burned with hot irons in the cheeks. He claimed that he was unfairly judged, and in 1506 Maximilian restored him to citizenship (Baader, i. 14–25).

His principal work at Nuremberg is 'The Rosary' which, by order of Anthony Tucher, he completed for the Church of St. Lawrence in 1518. There were so many wood-carvers in Nuremberg that one wonders how they could all have made a living.

Conspicuous among the sculptors for depth of imagination and conception is the 'Meister' Jürgen Syrlin. His choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Ulm are an embodiment in wood of the whole philosophy of nature, history, and revelation. The work is a double scheme of symbolism, the lower portion showing a collection of plant and animal forms from the domain of unreflecting nature, and of misshapen human forms representing God-forsaking—and therefore God-forsaken—humanity, above which there rise in threefold succession representations of thinking, speculative paganism, searching after God; of the preliminary revelation of the Old Covenant; and of the full revelation of the New Covenant. Heathendom is represented by its famous men, such as Pythagoras, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and also by the Sibyls; Judaism by the patriarchs, prophets, and holy women; Christendom by the Apostles, the women of the New Testament, and other saints of the Church. The artistic execution is entirely in keeping with the philosophic depth of the conception. The figures are full of life and expression, and one is throughout impressed by the wonderful breadth and variety of treatment. The whole work was completed in the short period between 1469 and 1474.

North Germany [1] was by no means behind the middle

[1] Mangenberger writes: 'We have heard so much of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Suabian art life that we might be tempted to look on the South as the art centre. But I do not agree with this. There are many art

and southern provinces in the cultivation and pursuit of art. Even in Pomerania artistic zeal and industry covered the whole land, attaining special excellence in wood-carving. The beautiful altar-piece in the church of the little town of Triebsee, for instance, and another in a church on the island of Ummanz, are among the most remarkable art treasures of the fifteenth century.

Comparatively few of the artists' names have come down to us. They seem to have been singularly indifferent to fame. Their works, so to speak, were the outcome of their spiritual life; and herein doubtless lies the secret of their power. Their works produce such an impression of greatness because of the greatness of their own natures.

Painting.

The brothers Hubert (1432) and Jan (1440) van Eyck may be called the founders of German painting in the fifteenth century. They were the first who introduced the methods of oil-painting, which had already long been in use, into the higher branches of art, and the first also who introduced the general study of Nature into painting. This is seen in the truthfulness both of their portrait painting and of the landscapes in their historical pictures. Their fame spread over all lands, and pupils flocked to them from Italy, as well as from different parts of Germany. It was from them that Antonelli da Messina acquired the love

treasures in the North, in Lübeck, in Wismar, and in Berlin, while in the Archæological Museum in Dresden we find 330 specimens of wood-carvings.'

of landscape painting which he carried back to Venice; and in Florence the influence of their school was manifested even in Domenico Ghirlandajo. The Van Eyck school had greater weight among the artists of Upper Germany, and many of their pupils, such as Lucas Moser of Weil and Frederick Herlen of Nordlingen, belonged to the Netherlandish school.

Yet it was not Flemish influence that controlled the epoch-making masters of German art as to treatment and subject-matter, but rather the school of Cologne, which had already made a good start under Greek influence (possibly as early as the time of the Othos), and developed to a high degree of excellence after the fourteenth century. It was by 'Meister' Wilhelm and 'Meister' Stephan Lochner, of Constance, that this school was brought up to its pinnacle of fame in 1451. Lochner's method of art was in vogue at Cologne up to the sixteenth century, and had a considerable number of distinguished followers.

Among the many foreign artists who flocked to Cologne we may mention two particularly: Hans Memling, about the year 1495, called 'the Dutch Hans' —whom some authors have falsely represented as of Flemish origin, but who was born in Franconia—and the Suabian, Martin Schongauer. In the oldest of Memling's paintings the faces have a decidedly Rhenish character. The buildings have all the characteristics of Rhenish architecture, and the colouring is decidedly of the Cologne school—certainly not of that of Van Eyck. Memling remained faithful to the Cologne method even long after he had migrated to Bruges, and had worked under Roger van der Weyden the elder (1464), the most gifted pupil of the two Van

Eycks. The same was the case with Martin Schongauer.

If we compare that loveliest creation of Stephen Lochner in the Cologne City Museum, 'The Madonna of the Rose Garden,' and his great picture, the so-called 'Cathedral Picture,' with Memling's renowned works in St. John's Hospital in Bruges and 'The Seven Joys of Mary' in the Munich Pinakothek, or with Schongauer's 'Madonna' in the Church of St. Martin in Colmar, we must be struck by the similarity in style. These three masters surpass their contemporaries in boldness, delicacy of outline, and in the delineation of meek innocence and purity, as well as by the force and beauty of their figures, particularly of their Madonnas.

The great perfection of these masters and their accomplished pupils consists in their blending of the real and ideal. While their saints seem like beings of a higher sphere, they are endowed with all the realism of strength and life. The graphic details of their surroundings make them seem like individual portraits, and carry us back to the time in which they lived.

For the Germans their works are of peculiar charm, as indicating the fervour, truth, and simplicity of their religious feelings. They are also of great psychological value, as showing the gradual growth of culture among the people. The 'Head of Christ' by Memling,[1] and the 'Descent from the Cross' by Schongauer,[2] suffice to prove the deep religious feeling of the age in which such masterpieces were produced. In Mary's countenance Schongauer has united holiness, love, sorrow, and bliss in one striking whole. Great tears roll down her cheeks

[1] In the Pinakothek at Munich. [2] At Colmar.

and seem to soften her sorrows, and a sense of sacred sympathy fills the hearts of beholders. Memling's 'Head of Christ' is unsurpassed by any painting before or after him. No other artist of any nation has ever produced such a combination of Divine majesty, love, and wisdom.

As a typical work of an age 'in which,' to quote the words of Wimpheling, 'men sought to promote the worship of the Redeemer by kindling devotion to His Mother,' Memling's 'Seven Joys of Mary' deserves mention. It may be described as a continuation in pictorial form of Conrad von Würzburg's poem, 'The Golden Forge.' As another proof of the intimate connection between religion and art we may cite Roger van der Weyden's painting, 'The Seven Sacraments,' in the Antwerp Gallery. It is a triptych representing the interior of a Gothic cathedral. In the middle panel the crucified Saviour, as the source of salvation, is depicted surrounded by His Blessed Mother, St. John, Magdalen, and the holy women. In the background is seen an altar at which Mass is being celebrated. The priest is in the act of elevating the Host. To this, the holiest of the sacraments, the central position is fitly given. The other sacraments are represented in the side panels, each in its proper place and surrounded by angels and banners suitably inscribed. The perfection of its conception and the noble simplicity of the accessories make it deeply impressive. It may be described as a pictorial epic poem.

Memling may be said to have been the typical representative of the Lower Rhine school of art; his works contain so much that was so beautiful and grand in conception, so much strength and beauty

of colouring, that one can never take one's fill of gazing at them.

Under the influence of the Cologne methods, but with a distinctly original tendency, the Westphalian school developed remarkable power and harmony of expression and tenderness of tone and colouring. The headquarters of this school were in Münster, and the most renowned representatives were Jarenius von Soest and the Liesborn 'Meister.' Curiously enough the works of the famous Viennese painter Wolfgang Rueland (1501),[1] of the Tyrolese Michael Pacher and Frederic Pacher, from Bruneck, and Casper, Johann, and Jacob Rosenthaler, from the Southern Tyrol,[2] have much in common with the masters of the Lower Rhine school, although there is no trace of any personal connection between them.

Among the artists of this school, Martin Schongauer, already mentioned, exercised the strongest and most lasting influence. He raised German art to such repute throughout Europe that his paintings and engravings were looked on by Italian, Spanish, and English purchasers as precious treasures. He has been compared to Raphael's master, Perugino. The closest friendship existed between Schongauer and Perugino. They often sent their sketches to each other, and any art connoisseur will at once see that they have borrowed much from each other.

Schongauer's studio in Colmar was the actual 'high school' of painting in Germany, particularly for the

[1] He belonged to a guild of Viennese artists who were already active in Vienna at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[2] I agree with the opinion of Böhmer in this matter. Pacher gained his reputation from the altar in the Austrian church of St. Wolfgang.

Suabian artists, who, in fine taste and spiritual depth, were worthy competitors with all the other German schools. It was here that Bartholomew Zeitbloom, of Ulm, for the noble simplicity, truth, and purity of his work fitly called 'the most German of all painters,' received his training. Here, too, worked Hans Burgkmayer, of Augsburg, who won a high reputation by his treatment of both religious and profane subjects, and who was the earliest of the South Germans to introduce landscape backgrounds. Hans Holbein the elder, in early life one of the best of German artists, received also much valuable help from Schongauer. In the earliest works of Hans Holbein the younger we also detect strong marks of the influence of the Colmar master. Even Albert Dürer, in spite of the entire originality of his genius, was in some measure influenced by him.

To Dürer and Holbein the younger is due the glory of having exalted German art to its highest pinnacle. These two painters excelled all others in creative genius and grandeur of conception. Their powers of observation were so keen and penetrating, they were so fertile in invention and so rapid in execution, that we may well apply to them what was once said of Shakespeare: 'The sceptre of his genius held sway over thousands of spirits.' Their best works belong to the Christian period at the close of the Middle Ages. They are by no means champions of the so-called Renaissance. Whatever they adopted from foreign schools of art never detracted in the least from their German originality and depth of humour. If we find them imitating certain antique styles and decorations, it is only through concession to the fashion of their day, and without

prejudice to their individuality. Such deviations are but as the tiny offshoots of a deeply rooted stem. Had there been no outbreak of religious wars, or had their genius been encouraged by like favourable conditions as were granted to a Raphael or a Titian, they would have accomplished far more that was worthy of them.

Albert Dürer is the only German artist of his day who has left us any personal records of his parentage and early bringing-up. His memoirs are not only of great personal interest, but they give a vivid insight into the ancient customs of the citizen class, from which most of the German artists sprang.

Dürer's father, who was a goldsmith by trade, was the son of a German family settled in Hungary. Thence he went to Holland, where he remained a long time among 'the great artists,' and finally settled at Nuremberg, where he married. Here Albert, one of eighteen children, was born on May 21, 1471. The honest goldsmith was a thorough adept at his trade—in the words of his son Albert, 'a true artist and a pure-minded man.' He found it difficult, however, to support his large family. He underwent many trials, contradictions, and disappointments, but he was respected by all who knew him, for he was a patient Christian man, kind to all, and grateful to God.[1] These characteristics are all apparent in the portrait of him painted by his son Albert in 1497, and which is now in the Pinakothek at Munich. It represents a tall, somewhat haggard figure; the face is expressive of deep gravity, softened by piety and peace of mind. This serenity of disposition he always sought to cultivate

[1] Thausing, *Dürer's Briefe und Tagebücher*, p. 73.

in his children. 'My dear father took great pains to bring them up [his children] in the fear of the Lord. His highest wish was so to educate them that they might be pleasing to God and respected by men. His daily advice to us was to honour God and love our neighbour.'

Of his mother, Dürer says: 'Her chief delight was in going to church; she scolded me well when I did wrong, and she was constantly solicitous to preserve me and my brothers from sin. When I went out or came in her words were ever, "Go in the name of Christ." She gave us much good advice, and was ever watchful for our salvation. I cannot speak too highly of her good deeds, of her charity to all, and of the reverence in which she was held.'

With regard to his own education, he continues: 'As soon as I could read and write my father took me away from school and taught me the goldsmith's trade. As time went on, my inclination turned more towards painting than to the work of a goldsmith. I represented this to my father, but he was not at all pleased, for he lamented that the time already spent in learning his trade should be wasted. In time, however, he relented, and on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, 1486, he apprenticed me to Michael Wolgemuth, to work for him for three years. During those three years God granted me great industry, and I learned well; but I had much to suffer from the other apprentices.' Wolgemuth was one of the chief painters of Nuremberg, and did much for the progress of art.

'When I had completed my term of apprenticeship, father sent me abroad, and I travelled for four years until he called me back again.' 'During his

"Wanderjahre,"' writes a friend, 'he met at Colmar the goldsmiths Caspar and Paul and the painter Ludewig, and at Basle the goldsmith George (all four of them brothers of Martin Schongauer), by whom he was most cordially entertained.'

'In 1490 (after Whitsuntide) I returned to Nuremberg. After I came home Hans Frey consulted with my father and gave me his daughter Agnes for my wife, and with her, two hundred gulden, and we were married.

'After this my father was seized with a fatal attack of diarrhœa. When he saw that death was near he resigned himself, recommended my mother to my care, and enjoined me to lead a good, God-fearing life. He received the sacraments, and died in the year 1502. Oh, my dear friends, all of you, I beg you for God's sake when you read of my father's death to say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria for him, and for your own soul's sake, that we may serve God by a good life and earn a happy death! It is impossible that anyone who leads a pious life should have a bad end, for God is full of mercy.'

Dürer expresses the same sentiments in a little poem on Death, illustrated with a woodcut, which he published as a leaflet in 1510: 'On him who thinks daily on death God will look with mercy. He enjoys that peace which God alone, and not the world, can give. He who does good in life finds strength in the hour of death, which he hails as the bearer of eternal bliss.'

Wer täglich sich zum Sterben schickt,
Den hat Gott gnädig angeblickt;
Er steht in rechten Friedens Bann,
Den Gott nur, die Welt nicht geben kann;

Dem wer im Leben Gutes thut,
Den überkömmt ein starker Muth,
Und ihn erfreut des Todes Stund,
Da ihm die Seligkeit wird kund.[1]

Very touching is his intimation to his friends of his mother's death: 'Now be it known to you that in the year 1513 my dear suffering mother, whom I took to my home two years after the death of my father (for she was very poor), and who lived with us for nine years, was taken so sick one morning that we had to break open her door, as she could not open it to us. We carried her into another room and the last sacraments were administered to her, for everyone thought she was dying. . . . On May 17, 1514, a year from the day on which she was taken ill, two hours before nightfall, my mother departed this life in Christian peace and fortitude, and with the consolation of both the holy sacraments. She gave me her blessing, prayed that the peace of God might be with me, and exhorted me to keep free from sin. She asked for some holy water to drink. She feared the pains of death, but said she had no fear of appearing before God. She was seized with a painful agony and seemed troubled by some apparition, for after a long silence she asked for holy water. Then her eyes grew dim; I noticed she had two convulsions of the heart; she closed her eyes and lips and died in great pain. I prayed aloud for her. I cannot express my grief. God be gracious to her! Her greatest happiness was to speak of God, and she loved to see Him honoured. She was in her sixty-third year. I buried her as honourably as my means would allow. God grant me a death as

[1] Thausing, pp. 154–159. See vols. xiv.–xv. Dürer placed a sum of money in the city treasury for an annual Mass to be said at St. Sebald's (Baader, pp. 1–6).

beautiful as hers. May God Himself and His heavenly hosts, my father, mother, friends, and relations be present with me at that hour! May God grant us everlasting life, Amen. She looked even more beautiful in death than she had done in life.' [1]

Here we have a picture of simple, domestic life which proves how closely religion was bound up with the family affections, how 'both spring from the same root.' It also accounts for the frequent occurrence of domestic subjects in Dürer's works and for the details they give of German interiors. All that was most beautiful in his character sprang from his love for his home, and we can trace the advice received at the parental deathbed in his own fidelity to family ties. By the work of his hands he earned the daily bread for his family, exhibiting indefatigable industry under the most trying circumstances as painter, designer, etcher, engraver, sculptor, goldsmith, and printer. There is hardly a single branch of art that can be named in which his influence was not felt.

The philosophical spirit in which Dürer looked on life was engendered by his deep-seated conviction that the best ever proceeds from God. 'If it be asked,' he writes, 'how shall we set about to make a beautiful picture? some will say by knowledge of man—others will disagree with this, and I am one of the latter. Who will make this clear to us? Not he who looks on even

[1] Thausing, *Dürer's Briefe und Tagebücher*, pp. 136–138. Thausing, in commenting on those letters, says: 'We find no pride, no morbid humility, no dissension. His practical attention to present duties and his firm faith in religion saved him from despondency. His heart was too strong and elastic to give way to grief. The man puts his mind in his work, and in the details which he gives in those records we are moved by his earnestness and simplicity.'

the least of God's creatures without thinking of the end of its creation, not to speak of man, who is the special creature of God and to whom all others are subject. I acknowledge that the artist who has had most experience may make a better figure, but it will not be perfection, for that is beyond man's power. God alone is perfection and can alone reveal it to man. He alone holds truth and knows what constitutes perfection in human proportions.' Art was to him 'the power which God gave men to model various forms of humanity and other creatures.'

The culminating period of his activity extended to the outbreak of the religious controversies. By far the most important of his works in different branches of art belong to the time before these schisms. Even the studies for his most famous work, 'The Four Temperaments,' were begun before the year 1518.

From the universality of his works, Dürer may be looked on as a light to the whole world of art.[1] Even Raphael borrowed from him. Conspicuous among his German pupils and followers are Hans Schäuffelin, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Baldung, Mathäus Grünwald, and Lucas Cranach.

Among the various branches of pictorial art which flourished in Germany at the close of the fifteenth century, glass-staining reached great perfection. Wherever it was not compelled to put on a monumental or purely decorative character, it stands uppermost in the production of easel pictures. With the simplest means and appliances the most brilliant effects were produced. The 'cabinet glass-staining' of the fifteenth century—

[1] See Waagen, i. 199; Sighart, p. 619. Dürer always took a catholic view of life (Kaufmann, pp. 83–89).

to judge from the specimens in heraldic shields—may be considered as unsurpassable.

The guild system embraced this department of art also. Painters and glass-stainers generally formed a brotherhood in common, and went in company on stated days to the service of God, to Masses for the dead, and to social gatherings. Glass-staining was practised with great success in many of the monasteries. The Dominican Jacob Griesinger, of Ulm (1491), gained great renown in Bologna by his method of burning in the colours, and he founded a school of his own. We are indebted to him, among other discoveries, for that beautiful yellow which is produced from silver. 'He was a man of virtuous and godly life, and an example to all citizens and nobles.' Glass-stainers were met with in the monasteries of Clus (1486) and Walkenried (1515). In the Convent of Wienhausen, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the lay sister Adelheid Schraders glazed and painted all the windows. About the same time a nun of St. Catherine's convent in Nuremberg wrote a little German book in which she gave instructions for making glass pictures in mosaic.

Among the principal specimens of the artistic glass-work of the period may be mentioned those in the Church of St. Catherine in Salzwedel, in the Cathedral of Stendal, in the Church of Falkenhagen, in the Church of St. Matthew in Treves, in the choir of the Cathedral of Freiburg, in the Cathedrals of Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Eichstadt, in the Frauenkirche at Munich, in the Chapel of the Palace at Blutenberg, in the Churches at Pipping and Jenkofen, in the Church of St. James at Straubing, in the Chapel of the Vienna Palace, and in the church at Heiligenblut, near Weiten.

The glass paintings of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Cologne are the most famous, and are worthy to be compared with those in the Church of Magdalen, and the Wilhelmiter Church at Strasburg. Those in the Nuremberg churches of St. Lawrence and St. Sebald are considered to be among the most beautiful in the world.

Veit Herschvogel, born in 1451, and descended from a family of glass-stainers in Nuremberg, had no equal in his art. Among his finest works is the 'Volkamer Window' in the Church of St. Lawrence, which represents the genealogical tree of Christ, and the patron saint and family of the donors.[1] The two choir windows in the Cathedral of Ulm, which were ordered from Hans Wild by the city (1480), are among the most beautiful specimens of colouring which this art can produce. The five windows in the northern nave of the Cathedral of Cologne were executed in the years 1507–1509, and have become celebrated far and wide.

Nearly all the numerous works in glass-painting in the monasteries have gone to ruin, only a few fragmentary remains being found here and there: as, for instance, specimens of the magnificent paintings of the Stations of the Cross in Hirschau, where the abbot Trithemius, in 1491, had forty windows illustrated with subjects taken from wood engravings in 'The Bible of the Poor.'

This glass-painting was not confined to churches and cloisters. Stained-glass windows were to be found in

[1] See Neudörffer, p. 147; also Lochner, pp. 147–150. For remarkable windows made from 1417 to 1515, see Rettberg's *Nuremberg Letters*, pp. 136–138.

the castles, the city halls, the guildhalls, and in the houses of the patricians. We find such artists as Holbein and Dürer supplying designs and drawings for these works. An Augsburg authority writes: 'In former times there were no churches or public buildings, or even houses belonging to citizens in easy circumstances, which did not possess painted windows.' This applies to all the larger cities, particularly in Southern Germany, where this industry flourished most.

Miniature painting was another branch of art which was brought to great perfection; it was held in such high repute, indeed, that the miniature painters ('the illuminators') formed a separate guild in several cities. Prayer-books especially were embellished by this species of art. In many convents all the nuns, even if their number mounted to forty or fifty, possessed each her own illuminated office-book. It was a common thing for the greatest masters of painting to illuminate books destined as presents with pictures or pen-and-ink sketches. One of these, prepared by Dürer for the Emperor Maximilian, is remarkable for its taste and originality and the grotesque humour of its designs.

The principal homes of this art were Nuremberg and Ratisbon, where the Glockendon family and Berthold Furtmeyr were respectively the leading artists. The episcopal missal in five volumes which Furtmeyr executed for the Archbishop Bernhard von Rohr, of Salzburg, in the year 1481, ranks among the finest and most original examples of this kind of work. In Suabia the monks distinguished themselves as miniature painters. From the year 1472 to 1492 Father Johannes Frank, of the Monastery of St. Ulrich, in Augsburg, was

one of the best illuminators of his day. The Fathers Conrad Wagner, Stephen Degen, and Leonhard Wagner also worked with him. The monks Johann Keim, Maurus and Heinrich Molitor (1468) illuminated breviaries and devotional books in the Monastery of Scheyern. In Vornbach the Brother George Baumgartener illustrated a History of the World. In Ebersberg, Brother Vitus Auslasser illuminated a herbarium. In Nuremberg the Carmelite nun Mother Margaret (1450 to 1499) filled five folios with illuminated initials and pictures. In the same city, between the years 1491 and 1494, the Friars Minor completed an illuminated missal, the pictures of which were remarkable for their *technique* and colouring. The large and beautiful pictures in the breviary of the Benedictines of St. Stephen are the work of Brother John Esswurm (1515).

These are only a few of the names of the many who practised miniature painting in the monasteries, but they serve to show that this modest branch was still cherished in the quiet cell at a time when more pretentious art was spread over the world.[1]

All branches of art seem to go hand in hand, from architecture and sculpture to painting and embroidery. Exquisite specimens of carpets, vestments, and other ornaments, dating from the close of the fifteenth century, may still be seen in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna, in the Church at Eisleben, in the Cathedral and City-Hall at Ratisbon, in the Cathedrals of Spires and Halberstadt, in the Churches of St. Lawrence and St. Sebald at Nuremberg, and in several churches in Cologne and elsewhere. Not only the vestments, but the carpets, the dresses of the nobles, the flags, and the trappings

[1] There are very few ancient miniatures extant.

of the horses, were adorned with graceful and ingenious pictures or figures, which were designed by the decorator or the first masters of the day. Those who did this kind of work were called 'silk sewers,' and the large number of these decorative artists shows what demand there was for the kind of thing.

After speaking of a silk embroiderer who had become so deft in the art that 'out of pieces of silk he could imitate the human figure,' Neudörffer writes: 'As women took part in this art, I must not omit to bear witness to a proof of their perseverance. For years, when the ornamental work for churches had so developed, the ladies proved themselves clever and industrious, not alone in silk embroidery, but in tapestry, as is proved by the quantity of tapestries, bench-coverings, cushions, &c., to be found in the houses of the old families. The old master Sebald Baumhauer, sacristan at St. Sebald's, whom Albert Dürer described as a good painter, told me that he had learnt from reliable sources that in the times past the widows who employed themselves with this work remained all day at St. Sebald's, in the little sacristy at St. Michael's, bringing their food with them.'

In the convents embroidered figures for the ornamentation of the churches were made in great quantities, and princesses and noble ladies joined in the work for the honour of God.

CHAPTER III

WOOD AND COPPER ENGRAVING

Wood and copper engraving followed close upon the development of painting in Germany. During the latter half of the fifteenth century these two arts were considered a necessary supplement of painting, were placed on an equal footing with it, and were cultivated by eminent artists.

This German invention of engraving was as important in its results to art in general as typography was to science and learning, being the means by which artistic works were multiplied and brought within reach of all classes. But its services were not limited to art. It helped to forward intellectual development generally. As printing preserved the results of intellectual activity, so engraving gave lasting form to the works of the imagination.

It was at first chiefly employed in the cause of religious education, and thus we find the practice of the art during a considerable period mostly confined to monasteries. The mendicant orders especially were wont to supplement their instructions by the distribution of appropriate pictures among the people. They used them, moreover, for their own edification and for the glorification of their patrons and founders. By degrees these pictures came to be wanted not only for ecclesiastical but for domestic use. Private

individuals would wish to possess a representation of the Saviour, of the Blessed Virgin, or of their patron saint. The price of an oil-painting or a carved crucifix was beyond the means of most people, but even the poorest could afford to buy some little illustrated leaflet to hang on a wall or door, or to place in a book.

In the first stages of the art engravings were printed on single sheets ; but towards the middle of the fifteenth century the so-called typographical picture-books appeared, containing a series of representations accompanied by explanatory texts and practical reflections. Examples of this kind of work are the 'Apocalypse,' the 'History of the Passion,' the 'Salve Regina,' the 'Dance of Death,' and the 'Bible for the Poor' (*Biblia Pauperum*). The best known of these are the 'Bibles for the Poor,' which contained from fifty to sixty scenes from the Old and New Testaments, with printed explanations. The *poor* for whom this work was designed were not so much the pauper classes among the people, but the poor preachers, who often were not in a position to buy complete Bibles, and were thus enabled to provide themselves with a narrative of the principal events of the Holy Scriptures. The German translations of the Bible intended for the people were also furnished with wood engravings. The edition published by Koberger, of Nuremberg, for instance, contained more than one hundred wood engravings.

As a printer and publisher, Koberger deserves much praise for having employed artists of the highest eminence to furnish the designs for these illustrations. The woodcuts which were prepared under the direction of Michael Wolgemuth in 1491 for the 'Schatzbehälter der wahren Reichthümer des Heils' ('The Treasury

of True Riches of Eternity'), as well as those for Hartmann Schedel's 'Book of Chronicles' (1493), show marks of distinct progress.[1] Still more important are the works of Hans Burgkmair, of Augsburg, who made the designs for more than seven hundred woodcuts. By order of Maximilian, and in conjunction with Albert Dürer and others, this same artist made the drawing for the celebrated 'Triumphal Procession of the Emperor,' as well as twenty designs for the illustration of the 'Weisskunig' and the 'Theuerdank.'

The most celebrated artists of the day, such as Dürer, Holbein, Hans Schäuffelin, and Lucas Cranach, allowed their paintings and drawings, even their large compositions, to be reproduced and multiplied by the engraver's art. Some of them even worked at the art themselves. Thousands of impressions were struck off, and found a ready sale at fairs and church festivals throughout Europe. Religious and secular, satirical and humorous subjects, were all represented. Political, ecclesiastical, and social questions were all handled in turn. In these productions, which were meant for the masses and destined to be bought by them, a certain amount of catering to popular tastes is to be observed in the treatment; and this is true even of many of Dürer's works, although he soared above the level of the masses, and assumed in his purchasers a higher grade of thought and culture.

Wood engraving reached its greatest perfection through the exertions of Dürer. The fifteen illustrations of the Apocalypse, which were his earliest woodcuts, and those with which he made his *début* before the

[1] See Thausing, *Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens*, pp. 49–52. For engravings of that period, see Hase, pp. 28–35.

world in 1498, in his twenty-seventh year, are masterpieces of the art and monumental works.[1] In these he has depicted by means of religious symbols the terrors of God's judgments and the joys of the blessed. Particularly striking and impressive are the four horsemen and the four angels at the great river Euphrates.

His two sets of woodcuts for the 'Passion' (known as the Large and the Little Passion) are equally remarkable for power and truthfulness, and affect one as does a great tragedy. The figure of Christ in the frontispiece leaves an ineffaceable impression. He is sitting on a stone, removed from all participation in earthly life—alone with His grief! In 'The Little Passion' Jesus rests His head on His hand. In the other one, the insulting soldier bends the knee in mockery before Him, while His hands are folded in prayer. In both the Saviour's countenance looks at the beholder with an expression that pierces through the soul. It represents the continual grief which the sins of man inflict on the Saviour. Hence the hands and feet bear the marks of the wounds. The artist must have had in his mind the words of the prophet, 'Come ye, and behold if there is any sorrow like unto My sorrow.' Dürer threw his whole soul into this work, and he expresses here in a picture what his meditations on the sufferings of Christ led him elsewhere to embody in his hymn, 'Sieben Tageszeiten' ('Seven Periods of the Day').[2]

Zur Vesperzeit, da nahm man ihn
Vom Kreuz, bracht' ihn zur Mutter hin,
Die Allmacht still verborgen lag
In Gottes Schooss an jenem Tag.

[1] Springer, pp. 184, 185. There is proof that Dürer contributed the designs for 170 of those engravings (Kaufmann, *A. Dürer*, p. 36).

[2] See Luthardt, pp. 44, 45.

O Mensch! betrachte diesen Tod,
Heilmittel für die grösste Noth!
Maria, aller Jungfrau'n Kron,
Sieh da, das Schwert des Simeon!
Hier lieget aller Ehren Hort,
Der von uns nimmt die Sünden fort.

O Du, allmächtiger Herr und Gott,
Die grosse Marter und den Tod,
Die Jesus, der Eingebor'ne Dein,
Gelitten, um uns zu befrei'n,
Betrachten wir mit Innigkeit.
Herr! gib mir wahre Reu und Leid
Ob meiner Sünden, bess're mich,
Das bitte ich ganz von Herzen Dich!
Herr! nach der Ueberwindung Dein
Lass mich des Sieges theilhaftig sein![1]

'At eventide they took Him from the cross and brought Him to His Mother. On that day Omnipotence lay in the lap of Deity. O man, behold this pure oblation suffered for thy soul's salvation! Mary, the crown of virgins, to-day recognises Simeon's sword. Here lies the shield of purest worth, which saves us from sin's punishment. O Thou, Almighty Lord and God! Here we meditate on the pain and death which Jesus, Thy only begotten, suffered for us. Lord! grant me sorrow and repentance. Forgive me my sins, I pray Thee from the bottom of my heart. Lord, through Thy triumph over sin let me partake of Thy glory!'

The engraving of 'Christ bearing His Cross,' which contains such a wealth of figures, is well known to have furnished Raphael with a subject for one of his greatest paintings.

Next to the sublime tragedy of 'The Two Passions,' the twenty woodcuts (most of them dating about

[1] Thausing, *Dürer's Leben*, pp. 154–155.

1504-1505) intended to illustrate 'The Life of Our Lady' claim our admiration. They are idyls of purity, sweetness, and melancholy. The whole atmosphere of these scenes, the landscapes, the life of Nature, the picturesque blending of human and animal life, result in a soft Arcadian beauty which tempers the gravity of the character of Mary and her parents. Among the most touching, and at the same time the most agreeable, of this series is the deathbed of the Mother of God. She is surrounded by the Apostles. Peter is sprinkling her with holy water; John hands her the burning taper, while a third holds up a crucifix.[1] Dürer is inspired in this work by his veneration for the Blessed Virgin. True art has this in common with love, that it delights in the most trivial circumstances relating to the beloved one.

In Dürer's woodcuts for 'The Life of Our Lady' he exemplifies one of the most striking features of old German art. Like the poet of the 'Heliand,' who makes the whole stream of the Gospel story as it were to 'flow through his native Saxony,' he invests Christ and His disciples with the national character of Germany. All the accessories of the Church legends are so many bits of local colouring, which make every scene familiar and realistic.

Among the papers of the Convent of St. Clare in Nuremberg, dating from the time when Charity Pirkheimer was prioress, are the sketches prepared for Dürer's last-named work. A comparison between these and the finished composition gives us an idea of the originality and talent of the artist. His masterpiece,

[1] This picture was often copied by Dürer's disciples. This explains why so many works on the subject bear his name (Nayler, p. 32).

however, was the woodcut of the triumphal arch of Maximilian, done by the order of the Emperor.[1]

Contemporaneously with the art of wood-cutting, steel engraving reached also a high degree of perfection. The first known specimens point to Upper Germany—probably Bavaria—as the cradle of the art. At all events, it was a German invention, and unquestionably was in vogue in Germany long before it became known in Italy. German goldsmiths were the first who made copper-prints of popular religious pictures for dissemination among the people. The two engravers of repute Franz von Bocholt and Israel von Meckenen (1503) fall far short in technical skill of two other masters of the art who are known to posterity only by their monograms, and whose works, dating from 1451 to 1466, are unrivalled in design and finish. It was on the model of one of these, the Meister E. S., that Martin Schongauer formed himself, and the latter gained as engraver influence as great as, if not greater than, he did as painter. With the exception of Albert Dürer, he excelled all others in invention, expressiveness, and noble simplicity of style. His engravings, of which one hundred and sixteen are still known, are spread throughout the world, and have earned him a European reputation. It is stated that even Michael Angelo undertook the laborious task of copying one of them. His 'Temptation of St. Anthony' was much admired.

Among the pupils who received their art training at Schongauer's studio in Colmar, the most prominent is Bartholomew Zeitbloom, of Ulm, to whom a hundred and fifty plates of great beauty, partly stippled and partly engraved, are ascribed.

[1] Thausing, *Dürer's Leben*, pp. 370–373.

Albert Dürer was a disciple of Schongauer. The art of engraving owed more to Albert Dürer than to any other for its advancement, extension, and perfection. To him also belongs the invention of etching, and his works, known at home and abroad, were more frequently copied than those of Schongauer, and were used by distinguished artists, such as Andrea del Sarto, Nicholas Alunno, and Marco da Ravenna, as designs for their paintings. It was, therefore, with just pride that the military architect Daniel Specklin wrote: 'Whatever Italians say, the art of copper engraving is one of those subtle arts that owe their perfection to Germany.'

Schongauer had already applied this art to the most manifold uses, not only for the illustration of sacred subjects, but for the production of *genre* pictures also, animals, heraldic shields, designs of all sorts for embroidery; and as for Dürer's creations, they embraced every imaginable subject, religious, historical, mythological, humorous, satirical, architectural, landscapes, portraits, &c., and his inventive and imaginative powers were equalled only by his industry. Among the various productions of Dürer, three stand out in bold relief in which he has embodied his moral conception of the universe. These are 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil' (executed in 1513), 'Saint Jerome,' and 'Melancholy' (1514). They rank also among the best examples of engraving on copper. In the first mentioned we see a knight, clad in shining armour, riding along an unbeaten path in a rocky defile; Death stalks by his side crowned with serpents, and, with a cruel leer, he holds before him the hour-glass. The Devil, in even more hideous form, and armed with a grappling-hook,

stretches his claws towards the rider, who, without fear of either, rides calmly forwards, his firm faith and consciousness of duty fulfilled giving him a sure hope of victory.[1]

The sentiments which the artist symbolises in 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil' are further developed in the second picture. This one introduces us into the chamber of St. Jerome, who sits at a desk writing. The sun pours through the small window-panes; its rays fall on the figure of a lion stretched out with half-opened eyes, and a dog slumbering at his side. All is order and harmony, and no outward disturbance seems capable of ruffling the peaceful expression which rests on the countenance of the venerable Father of the Church, a peace, however, which he is not satisfied to enjoy alone, for he is at work to spread abroad the knowledge which he possesses, and which is the source of his own happiness. The third picture is of an entirely different character—a winged woman, bearing a myrtle crown on her head, which rests on her left hand, while a book and compass are held in the right hand, sits on the seashore. A lean and exhausted greyhound lies stretched at her feet. The various implements and symbols of science that are scattered around her in wild confusion produce a chaotic effect, which is heightened by the straggling beams of a comet that pierces the clouds. Here there is no vivifying sunlight, no harmonious order, as in the chamber of St. Jerome; none of the sustained expression of peace and calm which characterises the saint at his work, or the knight in the midst

[1] H. Grimm connects *Ritter, Tod und Teufel* with the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* from Erasmus. See *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1875, xxxvi. 543-549.

of danger and distress. The woman sits sunk in deep thought, her look wandering far away, her countenance expressive of the bitterest sorrow.

The three pictures are symbolic of different periods of thought in Germany. While the first two represent the soul fighting and working for good, the first and real object of life, still upheld and strengthened by a firm faith, the third symbolises an age of presumption, when man sought to fathom the mysteries of life and Nature by his own intelligence, and is in despair at finding himself so often foiled. As if to soften the impression of the whole, the artist introduces the rainbow which spans the horizon.

Not one among Dürer's numerous pupils and followers came near to him, 'the prince of wood and copper engravers,' in his combination of gravity and humour, in exuberance and depth of imagination, although several of them, such as Hans Schäuffelin, Albrecht Altdorfer, Heinrich Aldegrever, Hans Sebald, and Beham, reached a high pitch of technical ability. Many of his later followers forsook the grandly simple German style, and degenerated into stiff mannerisms.

It is impossible not to recognise that success in the art of engraving was influenced by the decrease or increase of faith and patriotism. As soon as the old traditions began to be despised, the forms and practices of religion neglected, originality of conception waned, and by degrees art fell into coarse realism. As a proof of this we may cite Lucas Cranach, born in 1472, who is the best known of Dürer's followers, and who introduced his methods into Saxony. His earliest pictures, belonging to the period from 1504 to 1509, are permeated by deep earnestness, simplicity, and humour,

which place them in the foremost ranks of art. Christopher Scheurl, of Nuremberg, did not hesitate to rank him immediately after Dürer among German artists. But from the time that Cranach began to stoop to a voluptuous style his art degenerated more and more year by year.

CHAPTER IV

POPULAR LIFE AS REFLECTED BY ART

DURING its period of glory German art was a faithful reflex of German life and character, and of all the leading phenomena of this stirring and eventful age. All things that had any bearing on life were taken cognisance of by art. Whatever asserted itself in life found its highest expression in art.

Among the ruling characteristics of German life at that time, next to religious earnestness, was fresh and hearty humour. The sport of the intellect with contrasts, which forms as it were the kernel of humour, if not exclusively the attribute of Christian art and literature, is at any rate a very marked feature of it. For as it was Christianity that first brought out in conscious relief the height and depth of the human spirit, as well as the relations between human freedom and the eternal laws of God, and thus established a firm centre round which the play with 'opposites' might proceed; so long, therefore, as personal, domestic, and public life all rested on the basis of Christianity, so long as the Church was a centre of unity of the complicated organism of society in the Middle Ages, the humorous vein in the national life flowed on with vigour and freshness, branching out in every direction, and enlivening every department of life. Witness the picturesqueness and poetry of the popular manners, the various feasts and public sports—some of them

singular—in which the jester and the donkey played a prominent part.[1] The innumerable witty sayings, comic pictures and caricatures of that age, attest the truth of this theory. Where firm faith reigns, fun and humour grow abundantly, for the mind which is convinced of the truth enjoys life, and meets it with composure, fortitude, and intelligence. In times of unbelief or narrow bigotry and fanaticism popular humour disappears.

Had the Church desired in the Middle Ages to suppress popular humour and fun, the strength of her power and influence would have made it an easy matter; but such discipline was far from her system. Embracing all classes of men in her fold, she understood their various wants and aspirations, and encouraged a free and independent expression of their feelings so long as belief as such, and she herself as its guardian, were not impugned; she fostered and encouraged the spirit of humour, and, so to speak, allowed it 'to mount guard over the holy places,' as if to keep man mindful of the distance between the sacred and the profane. Not alone on the buttresses and the water-spouts and exterior parts of consecrated places were grotesque caricatures to be found, but also on the interior pillars, the lecterns, in the sanctuary, and even on the very tabernacle, were they carved. From harmless ridicule we sometimes find this art passing into satire, but always giving evidence of the general thirst for truth, the sense of the nothingness of earthly greatness, and the struggle between good and evil for ever going on in the soul of man.

[1] 'Our popular religious feasts of the Middle Ages,' says Gervinus (xi. 277-278), 'were full of poetry, while now everything is chilled by formality.'

The grotesque carvings in the churches and monasteries, particularly on the choir seats, fulfilled the same mission to the clergy that the Court jester did to the nobles. In accordance with the spirit of the times, jesters were given to the princes 'as highly polished mirrors which humorously reflected their own weaknesses.'

As long as the position of the Church on her eternal pillars was acknowledged, it pleased her to see the spirit of humour lashing the abuses of those who held secular or spiritual power, by ridicule of the public luxury and extreme love of worldly things. These railleries became dangerous only when authority was weakened and the spirit of God Himself denied. All restraint being then removed, what had previously been legitimate banter became lawless licence and vulgar caricature, threatening popular demoralisation.

In an age when law forbade excess in satire and the useful object of ridicule was understood, the custom of bringing things elevated into contrast with things commonplace was not only tolerated, but encouraged, even though it sometimes led to the confines of coarseness; for example, we find an artist, with great patience and pious reverence, illuminating a prophecy in a prayer-book, and in the decoration of the vignette he draws an ape like a hunter aiming his arrow at another, who turns his back for a target. The pen-and-ink sketches with which Dürer illustrated a prayer-book for the Emperor Maximilian are full of comic allusions.[1]

[1] A. Dürer's *Randzeichnungen aus dem Gebetbuch Maximilians X.* (Stöger: Munich, 1850). For explanations see Heller, i. pp. 369–386; Thausing, *Dürer's Leben*, pp. 380–381; Schäfer, *Deutsche Stadtnahrzeichen, ihre Entstehung, Geschichte und Deutung*, vol. i. (Leipsic, 1858).

For instance, in the illustration accompanying a prayer against human weakness, Dürer represents the thin figure of a doctor who, with large spectacles, is examining a urinal, while in his left hand he holds his rosary behind his back. Over a prayer to be defended from temptation, the same artist drew a fox playing the flute by the side of a puddle, and attracting a flock of chickens, which surrender themselves to him. Close to a giver of alms stands a fox that has stolen a hen. A satyr sits blowing a horn while an angel prays. Beneath David playing on the harp we find a screaming heron. An 'Address to the Mighty' is illustrated by a picture of an emperor who holds a globe in his left hand, the sceptre in his right, while he is seated in a carriage drawn by a goat, which a child on a wooden horse drags by the beard. Among the most remarkable of these serio-comic productions is a picture of the Blessed Virgin absorbed in prayer while the Holy Spirit hovers above her; in the left corner the devil is vanishing, followed by a hailstorm, and tearing his hair.

The spirit of humour had the effect of bringing into bold relief that which was of the greatest importance. It was not wanting even in representations of the enmity of the devil to good, and of the triumph finally of Christ and His Church. We find the artists placing child-angels in every position of infantine sport near the spirit of evil.

The extravagances and abuses of the period are the constant subject of ridicule and satire in the best known engravings, female vanity and love of dress being always the principal marks for fun. Amorous fops, old as well as young, were used as targets

for wit, and artists were inexhaustible in their mockery of any insolent pretensions on the part of the peasants.

The peasant of the fifteenth century in most parts of Germany was not an oppressed boor condemned to a life of sordid vulgarity, as after the social revolution of the sixteenth century, but a sturdy, independent being, full of courage and spirit. Having the right to bear arms, he was as well equipped for self-protection as any city guild associate. He took part in public life and sat in district courts; indeed, the still extant literature of that period gives us more concise descriptions of his life, habits, and manners than of those of the higher classes.

In Franconia, Bavaria, Breisgau, and Alsatia, just where the Peasant War raged the most fiercely, the peasants lived in such ease that they aspired to equality with their superiors, imitating their manners and style of living and dressing in silk and velvet. In one of the Nuremberg carnival plays—the satire of which is directed against the stuck-up peasants—there are some rhymes to the effect that peasants cannot bear that the nobles and their children should be dressed better than themselves.

Formerly the peasants wore grey mantles, grey caps and battered hats, hemp smocks, and linen jackets. Their shoes were tied with bast, and their hair cut in Wendish fashion above their ears. Their saddles and bridles were equally plain.

Nun aber sich die Paurheit
Den Rittern gleich hat geklait
Mit Gewand und mit Gepärden,
Nun mag es nimmer guot werden.

Sebastian Brant expresses the same sentiment in his 'Narrenschiff'—

> Die Bauern tragen seiden Kleid
> Und goldene Ketten an dem Leib.

'The peasants wear silken dresses, and golden chains hang about round them.'

> Mit aller Farb, wild über wild,
> Und auf dem Armel eines Narren Bild,
> Das Stadtvolk jetzt vom Bauern lehrt,
> Wie es in Bosheit werd' gemehrt.

Coarse ticking no longer contented them: they must have clothes from London or Malines cut in modern fashion.

'Of all colours, of all furs, they wear them in their armlets, pictures of fools. The city folk can now learn wickedness and foolishness from the peasants.'

Follies of this sort account for the constant caricaturing of the peasants. It was the fashion to make fun of their absurdities, so that there was a good sale for such representations. Thus, for instance, on the last page of marginal illuminations which Dürer designed for Maximilian's prayer-book he chose a peasant's dance. A man and woman are hastening to join the dance, the woman with her hair floating down her back and wearing a long town-made dress, and the man with wide-open mouth and hands awkwardly thrown up in the air. Another couple are dancing a minuet: the man steadies himself by carrying a glass of water on his head.

A still more comical scene is drawn in pen and ink by Schongauer: foppish villagers and their sweethearts are represented at a dance trying to ape the manners of the city, but betraying their boorishness by their

grotesque movements. These rustic attempts at city ways recall Don Quixote's attempts at chivalry. They have tried in vain to hide their country origin by borrowing all the outward appurtenances of their superiors. Here we see a broken scabbard, and there a naked knee obtruding from a torn hose.

Thanks to the number of these *genre* pictures, done by the best artists of the time, we are familiar with the manners of the day, and can contrast them with those of later times. A miniature or a painting on glass brings before us a market scene in which women and young girls are recommending their wares and offering them for sale—white bread and butter on a white plate, eggs in baskets, and milk in jugs. Pigeons and young chickens are tied in hampers, which are carried on the heads of the women, who wear dresses made of coarse stuff, the bodices high in the neck and crossed over the bosom, the skirts scant and of convenient length. An apron is tied by strings knotted in front. The hair, divided in the middle, is allowed to hang loose by the young girls, while by the older women it is hidden under a handkerchief, which hangs loosely down or is tied under the chin.

We also find the popular amusements of the day represented with the same precision and accuracy. For instance, one picture shows us children spinning tops, trundling hoops, playing blindman's buff, swinging and turning somersaults. Another shows us older people amusing themselves with chess, backgammon, and dice. May festivals and shooting parties are often represented. Dancing being the favourite, indeed the general, amusement of the people in the Middle Ages, it naturally formed a constant subject for art. The lower

orders always preferred to dance in the open air. The inns never contained dancing-halls, and we see the gay crowds collected on the green, dancing to the music of the tambourine, the bagpipe, or the violin. The wealthier classes had their private dancing-saloons, and sometimes used the city halls for this, their favourite amusement. A copper engraving by Israel von Meckenen gives us a good idea of those dancing festivals which were so popular on the Rhine at the close of the fifteenth century. In the centre the musicians are placed on a gallery supported by pillars. The dancing couples seem to be moving with great difficulty, on account of the tight-fitting jackets and pointed shoes of the men, and the cumbersome trains of the ladies; these trains completely cover the floor. Endless variety is displayed in the costumes. The head-dresses are shaped like sugar-loaves, high on the head, and with long veils falling to the ground, or flat coifs, ornamented with flowers or ribbons. The men wear loose jackets over their tight-fitting vests, fastened with buckles, and long cloaks reaching to the floor, or else short mantles. The women all wear low-necked dresses; the men's faces are shaved, but their hair hangs in curls round the head. For headgear they wear a gaily embroidered band, a hat with feathers, or a turban-like cap.

From the stained glass, the miniature paintings, and even the altar pictures of the period, we can form an exact idea of the prevailing taste for rich materials and bright colours, for art in the Middle Ages copied exactly from Nature. We see the dresses for state occasions made of thick brocade of the richest colours, and embroidered with gold and silver; the long sleeves

slit open and trimmed with embroidery. Dresses enriched with precious stones and pearls often had six and seven rows of coral chains around the neck. Finger-rings were worn profusely.[1] A study of the inventories still extant of the wardrobes of well-to-do citizens will give us some idea of the luxury and variety of the dress of the Middle Ages. In the will of the wife of George Winter, of Nuremberg, dated 1485, there is mention, among other things, of four mantles of Malines silk, six long over-skirts, three smock frocks, three under-dresses, six white aprons, one black, two white bath cloaks. Along with other jewels we find thirty rings mentioned. A citizen of Breslau contributed to his daughter's trousseau (1490) a fur-lined mantle and dress, four dresses of different values, several caps, sashes, and armlets, a bodice embroidered with pearls, and a betrothal ring worth twenty-five florins. We read of another citizen's daughter receiving in 1470 from her guardians, as an inheritance from her mother, thirty-six gold rings, besides several chains, buckles, and cinctures.

The pictures of headgear, both of men and of women, are very diverse and extraordinary. Women wore pointed lace caps a yard high, or head-dresses formed of coloured stuff pressed and ornamented with gold and precious stones. The head-dress of the unmarried women of the *bourgeois* class in the city was particularly remarkable, consisting of a muslin handkerchief laid in folds on a wire frame, and having ribbon strings to tie under the chin. The shapes of men's hats and caps were quite as remarkable. On some of the

[1] Jewellery in those ages possessed great artistic value, and much taste was displayed in armour.

illuminated parchments of the city regulations of Hamburg we find patterns of hats and caps, some high and some low; some with wide, and others with narrow brims, turned up behind, or *vice versa*. There were beaver, felt, or cloth hats of various colours and designs, trimmed with feathers, gold ornamentation, or ribbons that hung down to the ground.

Long curls were considered a great adjunct to manly beauty, and much time and care were bestowed on the arrangement of them. When the son of the wealthy patrician Jerome Tscheckenburlin, of Basle, became disgusted with the vanities of the world and joined the Carthusian order at the age of twenty-six, he had his portrait painted in the Court dress in which he entered the monastery. Long curls encircled his forehead and fell over his shoulders. In the portraits of the youthful King Maximilian we always notice his beautiful wavy hair falling low over his neck. Even Albert Dürer, the son of the plain goldsmith, seemed to delight in his ringlets. Sometimes, even, we see men with their curls encircled by an enamelled band, fastened by buckle and heron's plume, or even with a bunch of ivy or flowers.

Instead of flowing curls the women wore thick braids of hair behind the ears, which gave rise to the reproach that 'the women wear the hair of the dead.' The young girls wore their plaits in gold or jewelled nets, to which were attached golden aiglets. Dürer's well-known picture of the Espousal of the Virgin gives us a good idea of the favourite dress of the young *fiancées* of the Middle Ages. Over a short velvet dress, which Mary holds in one hand, she wears a richly fur-trimmed robe with train and hanging sleeves. On her head is a

small cap and veil. Among her companions is a Nuremberg woman of good position, who wears a fullmantle and a piled-up linen cap.

Still more striking, though, than the shapes of clothes, even among the working classes, was the variety of their colours. Stone-cutters and carpenters worked in costumes consisting of a red coat with blue trousers and caps, or in yellow coats with red trousers and caps; others, again, are represented in light blue and green mixed with yellow and red. The merchants behind their counters also wore the same bright colours. A peasant, bringing his pig to market, wears a red hat, green coat, and brown trousers. A truckman, wheeling a hogshead before him, appears in a red coat lined with green, red cap, blue hose, and bronze riding-boots. The village dandies seemed to delight in producing ridiculous effects by the multitude of colours they wore at the same time. One side of their costume would be of one colour, while the other was composed of all the shades of the rainbow divided into different figures; others would appear in red from head to foot. Embroidery was also much used. In the year 1464 Bernhard Rohrbach, from Frankfort, had the sleeves of his coat so richly embroidered that they had eleven ounces of silver on them.

Art in those days was a faithful portrayal of life in all its varieties and absurdities, its virtues and its vices, the caprices and the tyranny of its fashions, its wealth and its luxury, its misery and its squalor. Each class and condition of mankind is in turn presented to our vision. Take, for instance, the hideous rabble in Martin Schongauer's 'Carrying of the Cross,' who are driving the Saviour to His death. They are clad in the clothes

which chance or charity has given them. One has an overcoat without sleeves, and his legs are naked; another has trousers, but his feet are bare, and his short, torn jacket reveals a tattered shirt. Another, with naked shoulders, wears a cap with tassels, from under which a long curl escapes and hangs down on his neck. A fourth has bound his head in a kind of cotton turban, and a fifth wears a shapeless felt covering on his close-cut hair, while his neighbour lets his unkempt locks float in the wind. Among the rabble we discover figures that look as if they had seen better days. One is dressed in a garment trimmed with fringe and ribbon loops, and his arms are bared to the elbow. Another, with laced shoes and naked legs, has wrapped a sheepskin round his shoulders as though it were a royal ermine. An old man is clothed in a hermit's frock. The effect which is produced by all these figures, and which one sees so often reproduced in the pictures of the time, is painfully repulsive, and gives a vivid idea of the masses who played so prominent a part in the politico-ecclesiastical strifes of the sixteenth century.

Among all this foppery and folly, however, the workmen, the burghers, the professional and the scientific men, stand out in more sober relief. Both in form and colouring the dress of the artisans was very simple. It generally consisted of a short, convenient, blouse-like garment, and tight or wide trousers, either coming down over or tucked into the boots or shoes. When at work they slipped on sleeveless jackets and tucked their shirt-sleeves up to their shoulders. On their closely cropped heads they wore either caps or felt hats. The dress of the burghers was a short vest with an outer garment over it, either in the shape of a blouse closed in front and put on over the head, or else a coat

open down the front. This outer garment was generally brown or black, and lined or bordered with fur. Scientific and professional men wore long, full robes, reaching to the feet, almost always of a dark colour, but occasionally red. A simple biretta-like cap covered their close-cut hair. These distinct costumes for each rank and position are very characteristic of 'the true, honest German citizen' and German domestic life, and are truthfully depicted by German art. How home-like and comfortable, for instance, is the room in which Dürer depicts St. Jerome! It has two windows with small round panes; the ceiling is of dark timber; in the corner is an antique oak table, on which are the crucifix and an inkstand, and the furniture is ample and comfortable. In the background we see the large hour-glass which is considered an indispensable accessory in all well-regulated households, the row of tapers ready lighted, the flasks of balsam, and the medicine case stocked with household remedies. There lies also the leather portfolio with writing materials and a large scissors. Beside the Rosary lies a brush; from the ceiling hangs a gourd; under the bench are thick-soled sabots. Everything bespeaks German thrift and domestic comfort.

Anything that may be wanting to make this a complete picture of a German home is added by Dürer in the bedroom of St. Anne after the birth of the Virgin. A wide staircase with heavy balustrades leads from the end of the room to an upper story; near the door, whose massive locks attract attention, is a washstand with all its conveniences, the towels and brushes hanging near. On a shelf are seen a richly bound prayer-book, a handsome candlestick, spice and medicine boxes. In front of the window is drawn up one of

those comfortable seats which are yet to be seen in old German houses. There are no chairs in the room, but instead several cushioned seats. The table is massive, and the national carved chest, the repository of the choice household linen, stands in the corner. St. Anna lies in a canopied bed, and is in the act of taking some soup or other refreshing beverage. Everything around her bespeaks the perfection of housekeeping. The sponsors and neighbours gathered together are also refreshing themselves with food and drink, and one stout housewife in full armour of side-pocket, bunch of keys, and chatelaine, seems particularly anxious for a drink. A maid-servant is in the act of bringing in a cradle and a bath for the infant Mary.

One of the most beautiful pictures of German domestic life is Dürer's 'Holy Family at their Daily Duties.' Mary sits outside the door with spindle in her hand, while the Infant Jesus lies in His cradle, and Joseph is making a wooden trough. Little angels, in the shape of boys, are collecting the chips in a basket and at the same time indulging in childish pranks; one of them brings a bunch of lilies of the valley to the young mother. It is a faithful representation of German life, where 'everything is open and well regulated; where all is peace, and freedom, and joy.'

The domestic hearth was the central point in the lives of our forefathers, and we cannot cease to admire their skill in making home comfortable and attractive. Nothing that was in daily use was too trivial or ignoble to be beautified. The hand of the artist was observable in the balustrades, the ceilings, the doors and windows, the stoves and the candelabra. Even the

common kitchen furniture of a burgher's house, of which some samples are still extant, betrays the same care. Thus it was with excusable pride that Wimpheling said that Germany deserved universal admiration not only on account of its sublime creations in painting, sculpture, and architecture, but also in the originality displayed in the making of common things. This may be explained by the sympathy which existed between the artists and the mechanics.

Art had grown out of manual work as a flower grows from its stem, and, retaining its close connection with its original source, it continued to exercise the most important influence on all the productions of artisans or mechanics. The earliest artists, indeed, called themselves simply mechanics. For instance, in the early documents, Syrlin of Ulm is described as 'joiner,' Adam Krafft as 'stonecutter,' and Peter Vischer as 'coppersmith.' The architect of a cathedral was not above designing a simple villa. The carver of the choir-stalls also made house furniture. The most renowned painters used their talents for decorating houses, painting windows, or illuminating coats of arms.

Artists and mechanics worked in conjunction and perfected each other. The mechanics aimed at artistic merit in their work, but had no wish to overstep its limits, finding in their workshops sufficient employment, remuneration, renown, and pleasure. The simplest work was a labour of love, and hence the lasting impression which it was able to produce. Art and art handiwork found ready welcome and encouragement among the well-to-do classes, who were proud of possessing treasures of art grown on native soil, 'beautiful things of home production.'

CHAPTER V

MUSIC

WHILE architecture, sculpture and painting, woodcutting and copper engraving, were making such important progress, music, the most influential of the arts, was by degrees attaining to perfection. From the middle of the fifteenth century, the number of German composers was unusually large, and their compositions of very high merit. Musical advantages were so great at the period that even mediocre talent had a chance of reaching a high grade; indeed, all branches of art were studied and practised as labours of love, and by an appreciative people. Music, being pre-eminently calculated to express religious sentiment, gained a high position; professors of the art were most highly thought of, whether in cathedral, chapel, or college.

The actual basis of the new school of music was the Gregorian Chant. On this the German masters built up a true science of Church music, in the polyphonous structures of which the whole deep meaning of the old Church hymns is developed. In their grand Masses, as well as in their motetts on psalms, antiphons, or Church hymns, there is a close analogy to the architectural wonders of the age. The same harmony, exactness, and symmetry pervades both, and as in architecture a strict mathematical intelligence was at work, subduing, controlling, animating, and spiritualising the hard, life-

less, concrete material of stone, wood, or metal, so in music, by a like conformity to law and orderly development, out of the bare mathematics of sound the most wonderful harmonies were let loose.

The merit of perfecting the harmony of many voices is due to South Germany, where the high-class music of the *Minnesingers*, as well as popular songs, were more plentiful and vigorous than elsewhere, and where organ-building and organ-playing were earliest brought to perfection.

The 'Lochamer Song Book' which is one of the oldest musical works, dating from the commencement of the fifteenth century, is a monument of considerable artistic proficiency; but the many exquisite melodies contained in it have been collected, not only from South Germany, but also from the Netherlands. Another contemporary witness to the musical proficiency of the Low Countries is a book of songs published at Augsburg in the year 1458.

William Du Fay, of Hainault (1474), Jacob Obrecht, supposed to have been born on the Rhine (1507), and Johann Ockenheim, from Flanders (1512), are considered the pioneers of all the different schools of music down to our time. The works of Ockenheim combine a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical music with wonderful skill in harmony and rich original melody. We seem to hear his very soul breathing in his compositions, so full are they of tender sentiment and of deepest feeling.

His most distinguished pupil was Josquin de Près, whose praises were loudly sung by his contemporaries. 'His genius,' said Heinrich Loritz of Glarus, in his 'Dodecachordia,' 'was such that he could do what he

liked; no one exceeded him in power of expression or dexterity of execution; no one was more thoroughly master of his subject, just as no Latin epic poet could compare with Virgil.' Adrian Coclicus, of Nuremberg, who studied under Josquin, spoke of his master as follows: 'He was the first of those music kings who surpassed all others because they not only taught, but they knew how to unite theory with practice, understood all the different schools, and could give expression to all the emotions of the soul.' Whenever Josquin discovered real talent in a pupil he immediately taught him to compose and arrange several parts. He thought the power of composing very rare, and it was against his principles to encourage mediocrity, saying there were already such glorious works left us by the old masters that there is not one in a thousand who could equal or improve upon them.

Jacob Obrecht far surpassed both Ockenheim and Josquin in sublimity and simple beauty of style. Glareau says: 'Obrecht's works are full of wonderful majesty and simplicity; he sought in less degree after effect and technical beauty than did Josquin, depending on the natural impression which his creations would produce on the audience. It is said that his imagination was so creative that he was able to compose a whole Mass in a night.'

Obrecht lived some time in Florence at the Court of Lorenzo de' Medici, and he there met his countryman, Heinrich Isaak, who from 1475 to 1480 was Maestro di Capella at San Giovanni, and gave lessons to the children of the music-loving Medici. In Florence Obrecht was treated with such distinction that the Emperor Maximilian appointed him his diplomatic agent to

Lorenzo. He spent his last years at the Court of Maximilian, and, together with Josquin, was the pride of the imperial orchestra.

Heinrich Isaak ranks among the most renowned musicians, not alone of his own, but of all succeeding centuries. Among his best-known works were two motetts, in six parts, planned on a grand scheme, composed to glorify the highest spiritual and temporal powers, as represented by the Pope and the Emperor. Another motett on a hymn to the Virgin is regarded as one of the best examples of sweetness and purity of style. His principal work, an arrangement of the Offices of the Church for Sundays and Holy Days, contains the most instructive models for the study of the Gregorian chorale and figured counterpoint. In this last work his pupil, Louis Senfl of Zürich, a man of deep religious feeling and of brilliant imagination, aided him not a little. Among Senfl's compositions, the one commencing 'Eternal God! at whose command the Son came on the earth' is a jewel. It belongs to those historical songs, in the widest sense of the word, which embody the spirit of a whole epoch.

Another very distinguished composer of religious hymns of the fifteenth century worthy of mention was Heinrich Finck, Capelmeister to the Polish Court at Cracow from 1492. The finale of his pilgrim canticle, 'In Thy name, Lord, we journey on,' shows all the fire of Handel's great choruses. His numerous arrangements of Latin hymns are fine and solemn compositions. His 'Seven Salutations to the Suffering Redeemer,' motetts for four or six voices, are full of beauty and technical correctness, and breathe the tenderest piety. Contemporary German art can show hardly anything

of equal inspiration, except perhaps Albert Dürer's woodcuts of 'The Passion.' It has also been compared to the fine arrangement, in four parts, of the 'Lamentations' by the German Stephen Mahu, the precursor of Palestrina, and almost a contemporary of Finck's. The dean Arnold von Bruch of Laibach composed in the same spirit as Finck and Mahu, and his works, full of sublimity and tenderness, are among 'the best in this branch of music.'

The religious music of that period possessed in an eminent degree that æsthetic perfection which consists in uniformity of the parts making a grand whole. In spite of the greatest variety of expression, there is always the same basis of Church music. One leading purpose informs the whole, giving everywhere 'measure and proportion, life and movement, light and colour.' The harmony wells up from the heart of the idea, and hence is always characteristic, true, and various. If, perchance, as in the late Gothic architecture, some artificialities have crept in in the works of the best masters, the essential substance remains always unspoilt by such tradition; and, like priests of the hostile influences, the artists, indeed, were always freer from these the more firmly they held to the ground of ecclesiastical tradition, and laboured as high priests of the beautiful for the service of the altar.[1]

A like creative energy was manifested in the treatment of secular matter. Almost all the foremost writers of sacred music composed exquisite melodies for the national lyrics, and not seldom struck a chord which finds an echo to this day. They are in

[1] Bernald makes a grave mistake when he asserts that the most brilliant epoch of German music dates from the Reformation.

wonderful sympathy with the sentiment, and give the deep expression which is wanting to the words; so that, as the Nuremberger John Ott expresses it, 'the listener pauses to consider the deep meaning.'

The melody, for instance, which Heinrich Isaak composed for the song attributed to the Emperor Maximilian, 'Innsbrück! I must leave thee,' is of world-wide fame. The air by the same composer to the words 'My only joy in the wide world' is a pearl of priceless worth, and will always remain an expression of all that is most sweet and tender in the German national character. Heinrich Finck's songs are also pervaded by this same earnest, religious tone.

German humour asserted its sway in music just as much as in sculpture and painting. Every shade and degree was represented, from the most roguish merriment to the bitterest satire, as may be seen in such specimens as Mahu's 'Es wolt ein alt Man auf die Bulschaft gan' (An old man would a-wooing go); Isaak's song of the 'Peasant's Little Daughter'; Senfl's 'Laub, gras, und blüh,' and Finck's peasants' drinking song, 'Der Ludel und der Hensel.'

What makes all the music of this period so peculiarly delightful is its healthy piety, manly energy and vigour, constantly allied with tender sentiment and hearty enjoyment of life—the same qualities which pervade the works of the masters of the plastic arts.

As the new figurate[1] music was developed the desire became ever stronger to perfect the instrument

[1] The term 'figurate music' (*Figuralmusik*) is used to distinguish the music that was capable of being combined into many parts by a rudimentary kind of counterpoint from the unrhythmic, unisonous plain song or *canto fermo* of the Church, which it had begun to supersede.

on which it was performed, and to obtain richer and purer fulness of tone. The first improvement was made in the organ, the noblest of all instruments. A German craftsman living in Venice, named Bernhard, hit upon the bold idea of tuning the manual of the organ an octave higher, and accompanying the more beautiful quality of sound thus produced by doubling the bass notes—*i.e.* repeating them in a lower octave; his invention of pedals[1] about 1470 transformed the instrument into a mighty fabric.

In the year 1475 Conrad Rosenberg of Nuremberg built an organ with manual and pedals for the Discalced Friars, and one for the cathedral at Bamberg. The organ for the Church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, said to have been built by Heinrich Traxdorf, and enlarged by the monk Leonhard Marca in the year 1479, was quite renowned for its magnificence. In the year 1483 Stephen Castendorfer from Breslau added pedals to the cathedral organ at Erfurt. In 1499 Heinrich Kranz built the great organ of the church in Brunswick, and at the same time a fine instrument was constructed for Strasburg. At the beginning of the sixteenth century nearly all the principal cities in Germany possessed organs with pedals. The Humanist Rudolphus Agricola is cited as the builder, or at least one of the builders, of the organ in St. Martin's in Groningen.

In proportion as the instrument itself was perfected the players of it became more skilful, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century several priests and monks

[1] The pedal organ had been already invented in Germany, and the Italians gave Bernhard the credit of it because he had introduced the invention into Vienna. Arnold, pp. 68-69.

had already earned high reputations as organists. Conrad Baumann, born blind in Nuremberg, reached such perfection that the poet Hans Rosenplüt, in writing of his playing, said, 'He restores courage to the disheartened.'

Noch ist ein maister in diesem gedicht,
Der hat mangel an seinem gesicht,
Der haysst mayster Conrad Paumann,
Dem hat got solche gnad gedan,
Dass er ein mayster ob allen mayster ist
Wan er tregt yn seitnem sinnen list
Dy musica mit yrm süssen don.
Solt man durch kunst einem meister kron,
Er trug wol auf von golt ein knon.

'This poem tells of another who has lost his sight. His name is Conrad Baumann, and God has granted him to be master of masters. His subtle art draws forth music's sweetest tone. Surely if man honours art his must be the golden crown.'

He was a visitor at many Courts, particularly at those of Frederick (the Emperor) and the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and he always received handsome presents on taking his departure. Italy raised him to the dignity of knighthood in recognition of his great talent. He ended his days at Munich in 1473, at the Court of the music-loving Duke Albert III. of Bavaria. Baumann's works are the oldest evidences which remain of proficiency in instrumental composition. They are proof that the organ was played very generally in Germany at a period when it was almost unknown in other parts of Europe.

Next to Baumann we may mention Paul Hofheimer from Radstadt, Court organist to Maximilian, as the father of the highest method. In writing of him Ottmar Nachtigall says: 'He was never tedious by

lengthiness, nor meagre from brevity; wherever his mind and hand could reach he moves on with free elastic gait. His most brilliant execution never interferes with the majestic stateliness of his modulations; he is never content with producing something merely grand and solemn: it must always be also blooming and delightful. Not only has he not been surpassed, but he never has been equalled.' Many excellent organists went out from his school and exercised their art in Vienna, Passau, Constance, Bern, Spires, and at the Court of Saxony. In 1512 Arnold Schlick, organist at the Palatine Court of Heidelberg, published the 'Spiegel der Orgelmacher' (The Mirror of the Organ-makers), and 'Die Orgel Tabulatur' (The Organ Keyboard), works which give us much information as to organ-building, and also throw light on the musical science of the day, particularly as regards choral singing and organ accompaniment. In the practical application of acoustics Schlick was far in advance of the theorists of his own and the following century. He was also a good lute-player, and published fourteen pieces for that instrument.

The art of lute-playing, like the finer organ-playing, owes its origin to Nuremberg; the lutes made there by Conrad Gerla about 1460 were sought after from far and near. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, ordered three of them for his Court lutists. Conrad's descendants, the two Hans Gerla, were also good lute-makers, as well as good players on that instrument and on the violin. No lute-player, however, came near to the blind Conrad Baumann, who was himself 'the finest of all musical instruments and the master musician.' Baumann is also the inventor of lute notation. Besides

Arnold Schlick, Hans Judenkunig, Hans Gerla, and Hans Neusiedler published books on the lute which also contained theoretical instruction.

The brilliant works of the composers were not slow in rousing the activity of theorists, authors, and professors. The oldest known disseminators of German art-rules were the two Carmelites, Johann von Erfurt and Johann Goodenach. The latter was instructor of Franchinus Gafor, who stood at the head of the Italian professors in the year 1500. A contemporary of his was Johann Färber, Court choirmaster to Ferdinand, King of Naples, and afterwards canon in the church of Nivelles. Trithemius wrote of him in the year 1495 as follows: 'He is learned in all branches, a good musician, and a remarkable mathematician. He has written three works on counterpoint, one on melody, and another on the origin of music.' These works form a complete compendium of the musical theories and musical scientific knowledge of the day. They are clear and precise as to matter and the arrangement of it, written in good Latin, and full of explanatory examples, either original or drawn from the best sources.

The monk Adam von Fulda was also a remarkable theoretical musician. He published a treatise on music and arranged a motett on a hymn tune for four voices which gained great favour through Germany. Other musical authorities of their day were the priests Conrad von Zabern of Mayence (1474), Sebastian Virding from Amberg; later, Jacob Faber from Stablo (1496) and Michael Reinsbeck from Nuremberg (1500). A book of musical instruction, written in 1511 by Johann Cochläus, rector of the school of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, is characteristic of the age. It is so profound that

it is difficult to believe that it could be used for general instruction, and yet it was expressly designed for the pupils of St. Lorenz, who, together with the pupils of two other schools, engaged in a musical competition each year on the Feast of St. Catherine, in the presence of connoisseurs, and sang through the Mass under the guidance of the rector. Competitions in music were not uncommon in the German schools in the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

POPULAR POETRY

As we have shown, the fine arts, particularly music, were in their prime in Germany at the close of the Middle Ages. Poetry, however, in the limited sense of metrical and rhymed composition, must be excepted, although we should be wrong in concluding that all poetic inspiration had died away. A creative imagination, which is the fundamental principle of the poetic art, had already been at work in the soul-stirring impressions made by the masterpieces of the plastic art and in the wonderful musical compositions. The material and form were alone different. Poetry at that time asserted her sway not in words, but in marble, in metal, in wood, in colour, and in tone; so when music, which is always the forerunner of poetry in the gradual development of a people (inasmuch as it is the necessary accompaniment and inspirer of the drama and the epic), had reached such a high degree of excellence, there was every reason for the hope that a new spring-time of poetry as an art was at hand.[1]

This hope had still firmer grounds. In the first blossoming era of literature the poetic art had been born of popular song; in particular, the grand, heroic epics of the native sagas had grown out of the national folklore. National poetry, however, had been

[1] See Gervinus, ii. p. 249.

suppressed and arrested in its development by the learned and artistic poetic circles among the ecclesiastics and the nobility; but as soon as this influence had died out in the course of the fourteenth century, the former sprang up again with renewed creative force, and its productions might have supplied new matter and life for the poetic art, had not violent disturbing forces interfered with intellectual culture in the sixteenth century.

The revival of popular poetry kept pace with the growth of independence and the impulse towards freedom in the people. It was not the heritage of any particular class, but of the whole nation. All traditions that had been loved, all feelings that had been cherished by the people from time immemorial—joy, sorrow, mirth, or humour—now found vent and expression in simple, effective lyrics. And it was just this plain, uncultivated style that made the deepest impression, because, like Nature's own utterance, it spoke the unvarnished truth. Here we have the real thing, not vague memories; here are depicted our immediate surroundings, the present simple joys, nothing far off and distant; and all is so lifelike and real that the very trees and flowers seem to speak to us.

As the common property of the nation, these folk-songs were sung before the emperor and the peasant alike, in the palace and the cottage, under the village linden on summer evenings and at the festive board. Even in the sacred house of prayer the same melodies were often sung that were heard at the peasants' gatherings. Words and music were inseparably bound up together, and both were essential to the completeness of the songs. Verses were not then made simply to be *read*. No poet ever published a poem without

either composing a choral accompaniment for it or adapting it to some known melody. The poem depended, to a great extent, on the musical accompaniment for its popularity and its survival.

It was not alone by the modulations of the voice that the full meaning of the folk-songs was expressed. The movement of the dance was often so contrived as to emphasise the poetic sense. Many of our present rustic dances probably originated in these popular songs.

The authors of such songs are unknown. Sometimes it is 'The gay hunter singing to the woods the echoes of his heart,' sometimes 'A shepherd communing with the flowers,' or, again, 'The miners' drinking song':

Und der uns diesen Reihen sang,
So wohl gesungen hat,
Das haben gethan zwei Hauer
Zu Freiburg in der Stadt.
Sie haben so wohl gesungen
Bei Meth und kühlem Wein,
Dabei da ist gesessen
Der Wirthin Töchterlein.

And he who sang this song,
So well has he sung it,
All about what was done
By two miners from Freiburg.
With mead and cool wine full
Right merrily they sang,
While by them sits
The host's fair young daughter.

Sometimes it is a pious knight who sings while he rides through the lands, or a maiden who bewails her absent lover.

This gift of song was not common to the masses, but was the possession of a favoured few, who 'voiced

forth the feelings of the people.' They were less the creators than the discoverers of the voices of joy and sorrow, of complaint and hope, which filled the soul of the nation.

These songs, which had power to penetrate the innermost fibres of the heart and to strike each note of its harmonious chords, were soon carried from mouth to mouth, from heart to heart, and became the indestructible property of the nation, because 'A thought had escaped from an isolated soul that was common to humanity and appealed to every human heart.'

These folk-songs are the pulsations of the nation's heart, embodiments of its joys and of its sorrows, and, above all, of its affections.

The old German songs surpassed all others in originality and quaintness, in earnestness and humour. Many of them are so chastely modest, so calm and unimpassioned, that they were evidently composed by women. The farewell ballads are particularly touching; for instance, the following:

Min herz das ist betrübet ser,
Das schafft ir friuntlich scheiden,
Er mag genesen nimmermer,
Und mocht wol sterben vor leide.
Min hoste cron,
Ich muss dich lon,
Und muess davon,
Wan ich muess über die heide.

My heart is very, very sad,
'Tis absence gives it pain.
Joy can no more reach it,
But welcome sorrow's death,
For I must leave thee!
And from my native heath
My wandering footstep guide.

The wanderer journeys forth, but his heart fails hi
ınd he adds:

Dort hoch auf jenem berge
Da get ein mülerad,
Das malet nichts denn liebe
Die nacht bis an den Tag;
Die müle ist zerbrochen,
Die liebe hat ein end,
So g'segen dich got, mein feines lieb!
Jez far ich ins elend.

Up there on yonder hill
The mill *wheel goes round;*
Day and *night it grinds*
True love, *true love alone.*
The mill *wheel is broken,*
And love, *true love, is dead!*
Oh, God *rest thee, my treasure,*
While I go *forth to misery!*

'To misery' means to exile. The love of the Fatherland then was so strong in Germans, that to live out of it was exile or banishment, and a source of the greatest unhappiness. The following refrain tells of a deep, still love:

Ich hort ein sichellin rauschen,
Wol rauschen durch das Korn,
Ich hort eine feine magt klagen;
Sie het ir lieb verloren.

Lass rauschen, sichele, rauschen
Und klingen wol durch das korn!
Weiss ich ein meidlin trauren,
Hat iren bulen verloren.

I heard the sickle rustle,
Sweeping through the yellow corn.
I heard a maiden weeping
For her lover gone afar.

Sweep by, O sickle, sweep!
Sing through the yellow corn.
I heard a maiden weeping
For her lover gone afar.

No sorrow, no love :

Es ist ein alt gesprochen rat
Mer wan vor hundert iaren,
Und wer nie laid versuchet hat,
Wie mag der lieb erfaren.

It is an oft-repeated tale,
A century old and more,
Who ne'er in sorrow hath wept,
Never in love hath smiled.

God guides :

Mein herz das ist betrübet ser,
Gott alle ding zum besten ker!
Ich fahr dahin mit schmerzen,
Ich sich, dass ich's nicht wenden kann,
Gott tröst all' betrübte herzen.

My heart is oppressed to-day.
God guides us on our way.
I walk life's path still tottering,
I have no strength within me.
God helps the confiding heart.

The popular poetry of the age was in close sympathy with Nature, and invoked the trees and flowers, birds and beasts, sun and moon and stars, to take part in its joy or sorrow, its earnestness or its humour. Sometimes Nature is an integral part of the poem, sometimes only the background or the setting.

So long as the Germans were free from the passion and bitterness engendered by party spirit and religious wars they were great admirers of Nature. Its influence is to be noted in all their works and ways. The annual fairs bore proof of this, and so did the arts, even when pursued within the cloister or the walled city. Architectural art adorned the stone houses with carvings of trees, flowers, &c. ; and while the painters, even when giving the most purely spiritual expression to their faces, went to Nature for their backgrounds, German

poets knew no fitter symbols of human happiness than the sun's effulgence, the moon's beams, the bird's song, or the woodland shade.[1] Love of Nature was at the bottom of life and of poetry, as we see from the folk-songs in their minute descriptions and keen observation of natural laws and phenomena. Those songs, so well known, 'The Joyous Summer-time,' 'Will you hear a new Song from the Box-tree?' 'There is a Linden in the Vale,' &c., seem ever fresh and new.

Next come the numberless hunting songs, as well as songs of true knights, full of humour and spirit:

Wein, wein von dem Rhein,
Lauter, claur und fein;
Dein varb gib gar lichten schein
Als crystal und rubin.
Du gibst Medicein
Für trauren, schenck du ein—
Dein craft wunder tuot,
Dem zagen gibst du muot!
Dem argen kargen mildes pluot!

Wine, wine from the Rhine,
Pure, clear, and fine,
Thou outshinest
Crystal and ruby.
Thou solace of the sad!
Thou cure of all things bad!
Thou mak'st brave the coward!
Thou open'st the miser's heart!

The popular ballads and romances of the Germans will bear comparison with those of all other nations; nor were they wanting in historical, warlike, and political songs and satires. The latter were used as powerful weapons by all classes. For instance, in the great wars between the princes and the cities (1449) the

[1] Uhland's work on folk-songs ranks among the best of German literature.

following doggerel was aimed at the three warlike bishops:

'The poor city knows no longer where she is, but vainly spills her innocent blood in war. Lord! take care of us, we pray; for those who should preserve Christians and the Holy Faith are seen at the head of armies. The bishop of Mayence leads the dance; better that he should lead the choir. The bishop of Bamberg follows in his train, and he of Eichstadt completes the set. Battle wild has killed sweet charity. Because the holy propagators of Faith and Christianity have forgotten to preach, O God, we turn to Thee.'

This was answered by the upholders of the princely party. The cities are accused of having destroyed churches and monasteries, not sparing even the Blessed Sacrament. The peasants and the people were accused of rivalling the nobility in pride and pomp until it became unbearable:

'They believe themselves unequalled, and call themselves the "Roman Empire," while they are but peasants. Formerly they stood behind the door when the princes, who governed the land and the people, passed by. The King Sigismund must surely have been bereft of sense when he permitted those people to carry fife and drum; it puffed them up with pride, and they assumed what by right belonged to the princes alone.'

The song closes with a wish for the success of the princes' party:

'That success follow the nobles in ending all this peasant turbulence pray I with all my heart; and may the people get nothing but humiliation, pain, and repentance.'

Cyriacus Spangenberg writes in his chronicles of Mansfeld, in the year 1452: 'Songs were made and

sung, exhorting the rulers to maintain justice in the government; not to allow too much power to the nobles or too much luxury to the citizens, and not to overtax the country people; to keep the highways safe, and to see that justice and equity were done to all.'

There was universal complaint of the want of moderation and justice, particularly with regard to the representatives of the recently adopted Roman Code, on account of their unjust judgments of the people.

In a street ballad written before 1474 the jurists and doctors of the law are satirised. They are called by the populace, 'Law-benders,' 'Cut-purses,' 'Blood-suckers.' In a pamphlet written in the year 1493 we find the judges threatened with expulsion, and the princes exhorted not to love the Jews, with whom they were accused of carrying on transactions.

'Now that which is worst of all is that the princes will consort with the dogs of Jews who rob all the Christians. My lords princes, will you hear me? You are in danger; they swear vengeance on you from morning until night. If you love God avoid three things on earth: Set not your heart on usury. Make not justice your slave if you will be saved. Love not the Jew; give him not your confidence. He is the thief of your soul and the insulter of Our Lady.'

Nor were the clergy spared, particularly those who belonged to the nobility, and cared only for the incomes of the benefices, and gave themselves up to gaming and luxury.

'Their conduct causes us much pain. What they should restrain in us, that they do themselves every day. It is a world-wide complaint; they dishonour the name of priest.'

Brigandage by the nobles became unbearable; things even came to such a pass that it was looked on as an honourable amusement, and was actually taught systematically.

In 1478 Werner Rolewinck tells us with much detail how the young nobles in Westphalia were regularly trained to become freebooters. While riding in the field they would sing in their native *patois*:

Ruten, roven, det en is gheyn schande,
Dat doynt die besten van dem lande.

To ride and to rob is no shame:
The best on the land do the same.

To which the peasants answered in their turn:

Hangen, raden, koppen, stecken, en is gheyn sun.
Wer dat nicht, wy en behelden neit in dem munde.

Let us hang, root out, cut, shut up; 'tis no sin.
He who will not do it will have nothing left.

Innumerable folk-songs of a severe, satirical, and denunciatory nature were directed against the heretical innovators who attacked the unity of the Church, and also against the Swiss who showed a desire to serve under the French against the Emperor.[1]

Song was the popular passion. The people sang because 'There is nothing that can rejoice the soul like a refrain sung from the heart.' They said: 'It is well at all gay gatherings and pastimes to sing good German songs in order to prevent gossip and drinking.' We find in a prayer-book written in 1509, 'Where two or three are gathered together let there be singing. Sing during your work in house and field, at your seasons

[1] Wimpheling gives this as a proof of the general religious excitement and of the popular dislike to the Hussites.

of prayer and devotion, in times of joy and in times of sorrow. Good songs are agreeable to God; bad ones are sinful, and must be avoided. Singing to the honour of God and His saints—singing such as is heard in Christian churches on Sundays and feast-days—the singing of servants and children collected before the worthy heads of families, is particularly edifying, and disposes the heart to joy. God loves the cheerful-hearted.'

Lyric poetry is the truest index of the character of a nation, and may be called the breath and pulse by which we can measure the force of its life. In Germany this life manifested itself both in the secular folk-songs and in the hymns used in private life, in the canticles sung at divine service in the churches and at the many religious gatherings of the people.

As early as from the ninth century religious hymns in various dialects had existed in Germany. Those few examples which are preserved dating from the thirteenth century bespeak the simple faith and piety, and deep religious sentiments of the people. In the year 1148 the provost Gerhoh of Reichersberg, in his commentary on the Psalms, wrote: 'All over the world the praise of the Saviour is sung in the native tongues of the different countries; particularly is this the case among the Germans, whose language is so well fitted to this purpose.' The monk Godfrey, who accompanied St. Bernard (1146–1147) when he preached the crusade, wrote as follows to the bishop Hermann of Constance: 'As soon as we left German soil your hymn, "Christ be gracious," ceased, and no one was there to sing God's praise like your countrymen. The Italians, especially, have no hymns of their own in which they can glorify God for all His wondrous works.'

From the twelfth century onwards we get more and more information concerning the German hymns which were used at divine service, and for pilgrimages, processions, and mystery plays. Hymns, we learn, were even sung at battles. In 1410 we find the knights of the Teutonic Order singing 'Christ is arisen.' At the bloody field of Tannenberg, and in 1167, at the battle of Tusculum, the German army sang, 'Christ, Thou Who wert born'; while the archbishop Christian of Mayence led the attack, bearing the flag in his hand. The canticle that precedes preaching, 'Come, O Holy Ghost!' the Christian hymn, 'A beauteous Babe'; the Easter song, 'Christ is arisen'; and that for Pentecost, 'Let us invoke the Holy Spirit,' date from the thirteenth century. In speaking of the last-mentioned, the famous preacher Brother Berthold (dead in 1272) said, 'It is a very profitable hymn. You should sing it often and with devotion, in order to raise your hearts to God and to call Him to your aid. It was a happy thought, and he was a wise man who composed it.' Berthold urged any among his hearers who had the power to compose another like it. In an Easter hymn attributed to the pastor Conrad of Queinfort we read in the fifth verse: 'Sing forth in accents sweet and soft, ye faithful in the church; ye priests in the chancel. Now let your song come forth and proclaim Christ is arisen. To-day hath He burst the bands of death.'

In the fourteenth century the Benedictine monk Johann of Salzburg was the most zealous advocate of Church hymns. He made a very valuable collection of the best of the ancient ones, which, with the assistance of a secular priest, he set to music. At the end of the

Middle Ages there were still extant many hymns which were written in imitation of his style and set to his compositions. In the fifteenth century Heinrich von Laufenberg, deacon of Freiburg in the Breisgau, about 1445, and later a monk in Strasburg, arranged many religious songs to popular melodies.

The fifteenth century was an essentially prolific period as regards the production and development of sacred song. The struggles for reform in the Church, the awakened spirit of culture, and the increase of German Bibles and books of piety, all favoured this growth. Even the religious controversies of the times contributed to the same end, for the heretics who used poetry as a means of spreading their doctrines had to be met with their own weapons.

By the invention of printing with movable type it became possible to convert into common property a number of beautiful hymns which had hitherto been confined to certain districts, and many of the hymns used in Germany at the present day date back to 1470 and to 1520. In one of his sermons Martin Luther said: 'The papists had beautiful hymns and canticles; for example, "O Thou Who hast conquered hell and vanquished the devil," also "Christ arose from all His tortures." They sang them from their hearts. At Christmas they sang, "To-day a beauteous Babe is born to us"; at Pentecost they sing, "We pray Thee, O Holy Ghost!" and during the Mass is heard the beautiful canticle, "Oh, God be praised and blessed, Who has fed us with His own flesh."'

The more the love of song, both sacred and secular, was developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the more did the national melodies also improve; and

musical composers were filled with emulation to produce worthy settings for the melodious lyric emanations of the nation.

The number of hymns arranged for four voices by Erhard Oeglin are proofs of the great advance of this art in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[1] Such hymns as the following were very popular: 'Christ is arisen,' 'Let us invoke the Holy Spirit,' 'In God's name we live,' 'A loaded ship approaches,' 'I know a beautiful May, the fairest time of the year,' 'Oh, blessed the day!' 'Christ, Thou mild and good!' 'Three holy women went by,' 'Praise to Thee, O Jesus Christ!' 'God lives within us,' 'God be praised and blessed,' 'Come, Holy Ghost, Thou Lord and God,' 'Through Christ crucified do we live,' 'Rejoice, O Christendom!' 'Tender Mary, heavenly maid!' 'Like a fair rose didst thou spring up,' 'In remembrance of Jesus' agony in the garden do I cry to Thee in my wants,' 'Thou intercessor with God,' 'Lord God! Who takest the name of Jesus, have mercy on us!' 'Praised be Jesus and Mary.'

These, like many other such hymns, were a synopsis of the law, making Christ the beginning and the end of all salvation. What a number of tender and beautiful hymns we find dedicated to the Virgin and the saints! But dependence on the Saviour is the keynote of

[1] Luther's *Sämmtliche Werke*, edit. Frankfort, v. 23. In relation to Kawerau's assertion that those hymns were not sung in the churches, see *Answers to my Critics*, pp. 61–62. More than half the hymns attributed to Luther were of much earlier origin, and were adapted to the new doctrines by him, while others are merely translations from the Latin. It is very doubtful if he composed a single one of the many for which he gets credit. See Meister, xvi. 30.

all, as in the following: 'In the midst of life we are surrounded by death. From whom can we seek deliverance if not from Thee, O Lord—Thee alone, Whom we have offended?'

They are permeated by a confiding faith: 'Jesus, Thou Comforter of the penitent! He who seeks Thee will be comforted and saved.' 'O Jesus! sweetest source of the heart, Thou shinest more brilliantly than the sun. Thy goodness chases away all sorrow and all the vanity of the world.' 'No tongue can say, no pen express, He alone who has felt sorrow knows the sweetness of loving Jesus.' 'Had I sacrificed my young life to God, my Creator, He would have given me His kingdom. Oh, what happiness that would have been!' 'He suffered a painful death for us. He forsook His kingdom, and for us fought valiantly.' 'Had I to give up the world it would cost me little. I shall turn to Jesus, and to Him alone.' [1]

The Christmas carols, especially those relating to the flight into Egypt, are particularly expressive of the deep religious feeling of the fifteenth century. Their naïve and childlike simplicity is unsurpassed in the realm of poetry. There are more than a hundred of such Christmas melodies extant, the best of which is the following: 'Out of a delicate root came forth a rose. It sprang from Jesse, as our fathers tell us, and at midnight blossomed the little bud amid the winter's cold.'

Among all creatures the Blessed Virgin is the most highly venerated, as 'the epitome of all the virtues' and the most powerful intercessor with the Redeemer:

'I have chosen a lovely maiden. She is of high

[1] Uhland, i. p. 866.

birth and my heart's delight. Yea, for many years are her praises sung. She hails from noble origin, and comes of high degree. She is like a wonderful garden filled with fair flowers. My weariness has ceased since I have beheld her. She is the crown of women. She is the crown of virgins. She is the delight of angels. She is the light of heaven. Neither sun nor moon surpasses her in brightness.'

In most of the pious hymns Christ is pictured as the Bridegroom of the Church and of each soul, as we may see in the following religious allegory:

'We will build a little house, a retreat for our soul; Jesus shall be Master, Mary the directress. Fear of the Lord shall guard the door, the love of God be the willing slave. Humility shall reign there, and Wisdom shall lock all in.'

A Christian's longing after heaven speaks in every line of the following hymn:

'I wish that I were at home and away from worldly consolation . . . in that home where I shall gaze on God eternally. Awake, my soul! prepare thy wings; the choir of angels await thee there; this earth is too narrow for thee; thou shalt come here no more. In our home above there is life without suffering, health without pain.'

The German hymns sung by the people did not in those days, any more than in these, belong to the liturgy proper; nevertheless, custom and their universal use at the different religious services and observances gave them something of a liturgical character. They were the outpourings of faith and joy, and supplemented the set prayers in which the laity took

part during the services. Not only at the processions, at the pilgrimages on the great feast-days, and at the dramatic representations, but before and after sermons, as well as after some of the responses at Mass and morning and evening prayers, they were sung in German, which led to the remark of Philip Melanchthon, in his 'Apologia' of the Augsburg Confession, that 'the custom of singing hymns in the German language had been universally practised.'

Mystery Plays.

Sacred dramatic representations kept pace with the increase of sacred song. The close study of this question furnishes a prolific means of understanding the development and inner working of the German mind.

From the earliest Christian times divine service assumed, so to speak, the symbolic character of sacred drama. The great Sacrifice of the Mass itself is a commemorative representation and rehearsal of the great world-redeeming tragedy of Golgotha. Each of the five parts marks the progress of the propitiatory offering, and unfolds, as it were, before the eyes of the people present the great religious subject contained in it. Hence the great masters of music have found in the Mass the most inspiring subjects for their compositions. At High Mass the personal actors, so to say, 'the priests, the Levites, and the people,' keep up continuous dramatic intercourse, speaking to and answering each other. Everything appertaining to the service —the altar, the vestments, the colours, even the very plan and architectural style of the churches—are symbolical. In the Vesper office, with its antiphons,

psalms and responses, parts are severally assigned to the priest and the people. During the processions both the clergy and the lay helpers in their various dresses, the guilds and associations with their distinctive badges, tapers and flags, contributed to the dramatic effect.

Besides these dramatic elements which we find in the Church services from the earliest ages, there were religious plays composed by the ecclesiastics. As they were meant for the instruction and edification of the people, they were acted in the church itself, or else in the churchyard or cloisters. The origin of those plays (called Mystery Plays) was the use of simple dramatic representations to illustrate the great truths of religion. For instance, at Christmas there was a representation of the Infant Saviour with His blessed Mother bending over Him. On Good Friday a crucifix was buried in the ground and taken up again on Easter morning.

This symbolical treatment of festivals and Scriptural truths concluded with living representations, into which allusions to local occurrences crept; and later, even any comic element which had reference to the subject was introduced.

In the latter years of the Middle Ages each part of our Lord's career on earth, from the Nativity to the Ascension, used to be made the subject of sacred representation. But the story of the Passion and the Resurrection held the most prominent position. The Easter plays were the most carefully worked up, and displayed the greatest variety of illustration, for their object was to develop the great plan of the world's redemption. They began with the fall of Lucifer and his angels, and their expulsion from heaven. The tree of knowledge was made the type of the Cross—Adam, dying, sends

Seth to the Garden of Paradise to procure him a fruit from the tree of life. The latter receives from a cherub who sits at the gate a twig from the tree which will cure his father and give him eternal life; but, Adam having expired in his absence, Seth plants the twig on his grave, and from it grows the tree which was to supply the wood for the Cross.

By way of prologue to these performances, representations of the prophets and Sibyls who had foretold the coming of the Redeemer were often introduced, followed by some of the scenes and miracles of His life. Then came the awful tragedy of the Passion, the glorious scene of the Easter Resurrection, and not unfrequently scenes of the Last Judgment followed the whole. Like the most sublime epic, so is the Christian drama tragic in its nature, and it is equally fitting that Christian and profane history should alike close with the Final Judgment.

Besides the sacred plays which were concerned with the life of our Lord, and which formed the principal group of these ancient dramatic compositions, there were others relating to the Blessed Virgin. Of this class some were devoted to her exclusively, some to the Mother and Son together; others illustrated some parable or legend, while others, again, referred to Antichrist and the Judgment.

Among the most important of the latter group may be mentioned one entitled 'The Rise and Fall of Antichrist,' written at Tegernsee. This is the earliest play of German origin, and one of the finest specimens of dramatic literature in the Middle Ages. It had not only an ecclesiastical but a political bearing, by associating the idea of Antichrist with the princes and their

relations to the Roman Emperor of the German people. There are evidences that this piece was frequently played during the fifteenth century. It opens with a representation of several allegorical characters, followed by typical ones of Paganism and the Synagogue. Next comes the Church, surrounded by the symbolical olive branches, and Justice holding in her hand the scales and sword. On the right of the Church stands the Pope with his ecclesiastics; on her left the Emperor with his warriors and vassals, whose submission he claims; 'for,' so writes the historian, 'all the world was tributary to the Roman Empire.' This had been accomplished by the courage of the forefathers, but forfeited by their descendants, who now wished to re-establish the universal sovereignty and oblige the kings and vassals to pay tribute to the Emperor. The Kings of Greece and Jerusalem bowed to the imperial power, but the King of France only submitted after many battles, whereupon the Emperor, as acknowledged chief of all Christendom, triumphs, and, together with the pagan King of Babylon, lays the crown and sword in the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, singing, 'Graciously take what I bring Thee, King of kings; Thine be the power; only through Thee do we reign. Thou alone art Master of all.'

But the arch-enemy of Christianity arose in Jerusalem; Antichrist appeared, attended by Hypocrisy and Heresy. 'On thee,' he said to Hypocrisy, 'shall my work be founded; and thou,' turning to Heresy, 'shalt nurture its growth by annihilating the clergy for me.' Both in turn assure him of their services. 'The Church has long tottered,' sings Hypocrisy. 'Vanity has long held her grasp on Mother Church. Whence the

lavishness of bedecked men? God loves not worldly prelates. The royal heads are assuming extreme power.' 'Through our timely advice you will soon govern the whole earth; we have led the laity to be favourably disposed towards you. Now you will destroy the teaching of the priests.' Antichrist begins his work with the words, 'At last I am born, after lying so long conceived under the heart of the Church. I shall be raised up and subdue power. I shall set aside the old and dictate the new.' The throne of Antichrist is seen reared in the very temple of the Lord; the Church in ignominy and distress flies to the Pope. Antichrist summons each of the kings to do him homage. The Kings of France come forward with their allegiance, and he stamps his initials upon their foreheads. The German king, to whom he sends presents, spurns his ambassadors and war is the result, in which the German troops conquer. Antichrist changes his tactics and tries the influence of superstition. He cures one who was apparently lame, heals a pretended leper, raises a man supposed to be dead, and by this means wins over the Germans. The Emperor on bended knees offers him his throne, flatters him, and receives his crown back from Antichrist. With the assistance of the Germans, Antichrist conquers the King of Babylon and orders the crucifixion of the Jews, who had at first acknowledged him, but who had been converted by Enoch and Elias to belief in Jesus crucified. The power of Antichrist has passed the limits of his dominion, and from the heights he thus proclaims his own glory:

'Here is the fulfilment of my prophets, my kindred, and those who had my rights at heart. This is the glory which they have so long prepared for me. Those

who are worthy shall enjoy it with me; after the destruction of the audacious whom vanity has blinded, safety and peace will be secured to all.'

Suddenly the rolling thunder announces the Judgment. Antichrist is hurled from his throne, the hypocrites fly in confusion, the seduced repent, and the delivered Church sings a joyous Alleluia. 'Behold the fate of those who take not God for their helper! I am like the fruitful olive tree in the house of the Lord. Sing the praises of our God. Alleluia!'

This drama, simple as it is in its conception, must, from the earnestness and realism with which it was presented, have been very impressive, for we find that when it was played in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1469, the authorities were obliged to protect the Jews from the fury of the populace.[1]

At first these Mystery Plays were composed exclusively in Latin. By degrees the Latin songs, scattered here and there, became Germanised, and finally the old text was replaced entirely by a new German text. The German drama and German sacred song were closely interwoven one with the other. The lyric-dramatic '*Marienklagen*' ('Dolours of Mary') belonged to the one almost as much as to the other.

The Mystery Plays became so popular that in the fourteenth century they were played by the people in the village churches, and as a proof of their popularity it is attested that they were not written, but, like the

[1] Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum*, p. 440. Concerning two plays performed at Munich in 1510, *Vom sterbenden Menschen* and *Vom jüngsten Gericht* ('Of the Dying Man' and 'The Last Judgment'), see K. Trautmann in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Gesch.* i. 196–202.

epics of old, handed down like tradition from one generation to another.

As long as it remained the custom to give these representations in the churches the stage was always erected under the choir loft. Later they were held in the churchyard and in the market-place. Here the actors assembled (not professional ones, for there was no charge for admission), but the ecclesiastics and scholars in the higher schools, and such citizens as were willing to take the female characters or wished to witness the performance. Following the example of the painters, who clothed their saints according to the fashions of the day, the costumes were of local fashion. God the Father, the angels and the prophets, were represented in priestly vestments, but Christ always in bishop's robes. It was a matter of earnest religious feeling both to the actors and the audience, and the performances always began with the invocation:

'Let us pray the Holy Spirit to preserve us in the faith until we leave this vale of tears for our true home. Kyrie eleison!'

Let me quote the introduction to the play of 'St. Dorothea' as an example of the prologues:

'In all his undertakings man should invoke God's help with earnestness, in order to accomplish his work with less sin and more merit. May God and the Holy Virgin now assist us! Let us all join in saying the canticle of the Holy Ghost.'

The manager appeared as one of the saints, generally St. Augustine—or sometimes as Virgil, 'the ancient pagan'—and explained the period and circumstances of the representation. Each actor advanced to the front of the stage, repeated his part, and retired. The

choirboys sang the accompanying hymns, and at the conclusion all went to a church service or joined in singing some appropriate hymn: after the Easter Play, for instance, 'Christ is arisen,' or 'Jesus, mild and holy.'

These plays generally took place in the afternoon, lasted several days, and required a large number of actors, especially at the close of the fifteenth century, when all branches of art had arrived at such perfection. In 1498 a Passion Play was acted at Frankfort-on-the-Main which lasted four days, and gave such universal satisfaction that it had to be repeated that same year. We read in some of the documents of the Archives: 'Those who took part in the Passion Play in front of the Römer played each afternoon until the Angelus for four consecutive days, and appeared in fine and appropriate costumes.'

A four days' representation of the Passion and Easter Play, ending with the Ascension into heaven, which was given at Frankfort in 1506, required as many as 276 actors. This was followed by a kind of Church epic, in which two actors, surrounded by Christians and Jews, representing the Church and the Synagogue, held a discussion, at the close of which eight or ten of the Jews were baptised by the actor representing St. Augustine, the Synagogue sending up a wail of lamentation, while the Church sang an 'Alleluia,' in which the audience joined.

Besides being treated on the stage, these sacred subjects were illustrated by pictures in processions at the Corpus Christi Festival and by *tableaux vivants*. In this manner, for instance, at Künzelsau, in the year 1479, the whole of Scripture history, from the Creation to the Day of Judgment, was represented in groups.

In 1507 the city councillors, the different corporations and religious societies, undertook such a play in Zerbst. In Freiberg, Saxony, 'Mysteries' were acted every seven years at Whitsuntide. On the First Sunday after Pentecost the Bible period extending from the fall of the angels to the expulsion from Paradise was represented; on the second, the redemption of the world, and on the third, the Last Judgment. These plays were conducted on a magnificent scale and participated in by all classes. The chronicles of the time give evidence of the impression made by such 'elevating scenes.'

Taken as a whole, these Passion Plays were very instructive to the people. They were looked forward to with eager pleasure by old and young, and they exercised a highly moral influence. They had the advantage, like the Greek tragedies of old, that their subject-matter was well known to the people, and one or two characteristic traits sufficed to introduce each of them as an old acquaintance. The performers were hailed with joy as the impersonations of characters that had been long familiar in pictures and prayer-books, and which the audience were deeply interested to see brought to life, as it were, by their own relatives. It is easy to realise the strength of the impression that would be produced by these plays on large masses of people animated with the same spirit and looking on them in the light of religious observances. The scenic effects can mostly be compared to magnificent living pictures, raised so far above the common occurrences of daily life that they forcibly arrested and impressed the attention. What, indeed, could surpass the importance of the subject treated, which was nothing less than the

unfolding of the grand designs of God for humanity? In their stately epic harmony and rich and varied symbolism these representations have much in common with architectural and pictorial art. The grouping of the actors was but a living reproduction of the countless church statues, and while their costumes were copied from the paintings of the day, so striking is the connection that it has been aptly said that the works of Dürer remind one of the Passion Plays.

There was nothing monotonous in these Passion Plays. The writers, as well as the artists of that period, showed a wonderful richness of imagination in treating supernatural subjects. They blended the truths of revelation and the events of everyday life with an insight into the depths of religious philosophy worthy of the Mystics. Their grouping of the various characters shows striking dramatic talent. The way in which they used scenes from the Old Testament as introductions to the Mystery Plays proper also showed their appreciation of the prophetic connection between the Old and the New Testament. For instance, the selling of Joseph into bondage by his brethren is made to prefigure the treachery of Judas.

The rather rough comic element which crept in by degrees remained, in Germany at least, innocent and harmless; entirely free as it was from anything like malice, it had, indeed, rather the effect of enhancing what was good by force of contrast. The most serious and pathetic scenes were frequently interlarded with coarse comedy in which swaggering soldiers, vendors of quack medicines, usurious merchants and Jews were ridiculed. A favourite comic character introduced in connection with the Easter Play was the bargaining

merchant who sold spices to the two Marys on their way to the tomb. While he is quarrelling with his wife over the value of the merchandise his servant amuses the audience with a volley of the witticisms, slang, and invectives peculiar to his class, and of these there was a plentiful supply in the fifteenth century.

Judas is made to minister to the comic element by finding, on going out, that he has been paid the price of his treachery in false money. But the never-failing character is the Devil, who at one time is made to take the part of a stupid bungler, at another of a presumptuous braggart, while again, as in 'The Devil's Net,' he figures as a preacher inveighing against himself.

A very remarkable play, composed in Low German, was acted at Redentin, near Wismar (1475), in which the comic position of the devils is fraught with deep meaning. Lucifer, finding his power overcome by the mystery of the Redemption, sits chained in a barrel, which is supposed to represent hell, and indulges in a soliloquy which shows his bitterness and wild despair. The proof of the Divinity of Christ through the Resurrection, and the deliverance of the souls in limbo, are facts unbearable to him. He is not only enraged by his own damnation, but filled with envy and hatred towards redeemed mankind, and laments that a creature whom he despised as lower than himself will enter heaven, from which he is banished. It reminds one of an illustration by Dürer in the famous Prayer-book of Maximilian, where the Devil is screaming and tearing his hair at the Incarnation. Chained fast himself, Lucifer sends his devils out into the world in order to drag men into hell; but they act stupidly, and are at

last all sent in a body to Lübeck, where he sees a rich harvest. Then follow clever satires aimed at the prevailing abuses and weaknesses. As Dante in his 'Divine Comedy' introduces the various political questions of his time, so does this poet of the Middle Ages make use of the feuds existing between the houses of Lübeck and Wismar, and by this local colouring he adds materially to the point of his satire. Both cities were open to the reproach of dishonesty in trade, and so we see bakers, cobblers, tailors, innkeepers, weavers, and butchers coming forward and confessing their peccadilloes to the Devil. In cutting irony the author makes them beg forgiveness of him, as though he were the Judge on the Last Day and had power to absolve them.

The satire is principally directed against the Germans, inasmuch as it is in the German and not in the Slavonic States that the Devil is represented as seeking for souls. Lucifer speaks German to the devils and to sinners. Addressing Satan, he says: 'Don't you understand German better—do you think that I am a Slav?' Satan brings in a priest whom he has surprised indulging in worldly thoughts while celebrating Mass, but the priest makes hell so intolerable to the Devil that he is obliged to seek refuge in a neighbouring marsh. Satan complains, but Lucifer mocks him, and tells him that he should have left the priest in peace. The latter's threats of the Final Judgment make no impression on Lucifer, for the event is so far off, and in the meantime hell can be filled. The proposed end of the author is to warn his audience against presumption. Lucifer sends forth frightful screams, he knows no peace, and his hatred of mankind urges him to follow them with constant temptations; to men of goodwill

alone is peace promised, and the prayer for the dead, 'Give them, O Lord, eternal peace!' closes the play.

In the prose and poetry as well as in the sculpture of the Middle Ages we find the punishment of ecclesiastical dignitaries a fruitful field of satire. We often see the Devil tying up priests, monks, and high officials with ropes and dragging them into the abyss of hell. We find the sins and foibles of the clergy satirised and made public in writings and in the decoration of church edifices, but the Church itself and the Christian belief were not attacked in the fifteenth century. For instance, in the well-known play 'Dame Jutta,' written by the ecclesiastic Theodore Scherenberg in 1480, and founded on the then accepted historical fable of Pope Joan, not a single word hostile to the Church is to be found. The Devil tempts Jutta to undertake the scandalous character. Jesus Christ deplores to His Mother the audacious conduct of the woman in disturbing the established order of the Church and of Nature, and He threatens to let her die in her sin; but Mary intercedes:

'Oh, Thou Who hast chosen me to be Thy mother, do not let this poor soul perish!'

This intercession appeases the Divine wrath; Jesus grants pardon on condition that, in expiation of the public scandal which she has given, the sinner will submit to temporal punishment. Joan accepts, and, turning to the Saviour, begs Him to forgive her as He has forgiven so many sinners:

'Forgive me my sin, O merciful God, through the merits of Thy bitter Passion. Lord, do not let me be lost for eternity.'

She also begs the help of the Blessed Virgin:

'Mary! most pure mother, thou consoler of sinners, I fly to thee, for I am a sinner. My eyes are shedding tears of blood, let them plead for me; pray for thy poor child.'

She is slain in the streets of Rome; St. Michael rescues her soul from the devils, and Jesus receives it into glory:

'Welcome, My beloved daughter! Thou shalt be happy in My kingdom. The sin thou hast committed is forgiven thee, for Mary, My beloved Mother, has interceded for thee; St. Nicholas also; therefore be in peace.'

And the hymns of the earthly processions are united with the heavenly songs of joy.

Even in the profane and coarse carnival songs by Hans Rosenplüt and the barber Hans Folz, where the riotous peasants, the avaricious Jews, the cheating tradesmen, and the unworthy priests are so severely satirised, the Church and the faith are universally respected, and often defended, as we find in the case where Hans Folz in 1483, in the play entitled 'The Bohemian Error,' represents the Hussite heresy (which had many followers in Nuremberg) as an inheritance from Judas Iscariot.

These carnival plays, which were so very popular at Nuremberg, and to a less degree at Ingolstadt, Bamberg, Lübeck, Lucerne, and Basle, had nothing whatever in common with the Mystery Plays. The severest sarcasms or burlesques of the latter differed materially from the coarse jokes, the words of double meaning, and the dissoluteness of the former, in which not alone the rabble, but the young scions of the wealthy Nuremberg merchant princes, delighted. It is easy

to understand how luxury should have prevailed in a city like Nuremberg, which, according to Rosenplüt, was peopled in the fifteenth century by seven different nationalities—Hungarians, Slavs, Turks, Arabs, French, English, and Hollanders.

Besides the Mystery Plays, pieces taken from the comedies of the old classics were often performed by the students of the colleges and universities as a means of acquiring fluency in conversational Latin. Joseph Grüenbeck published in the year 1497 a collection of the pieces played by the students at Augsburg. At a still earlier date the comedies of Terence were adapted in Zwickau to the stage, with German introductions and explanations for those pupils who were not far advanced in the Latin language. A prose translation of the comedies of Terence appeared at Strasburg in 1499, and in 1486 Hans Nythardt of Ulm had already translated one play of this poet's, and had attempted in the Preface and in comments to set forth the rules of classic poetry with regard to the structure of comedy. In 1511 the canon Albrecht von Eyb published in Strasburg a good translation of two pieces of Plautus. We also find several original plays composed after the style of the old classics, the first of which was a humorous piece called 'Henno,' by Johann Reuchlin, which was acted at the house of Johann von Dalberg at Heidelberg. In it the mania of the lower classes—especially the peasants—for law-suits, the predictions of a soothsayer and the intrigues of a lawyer, are cleverly satirised.

The religious and political anarchy of the sixteenth century, which stunted intellectual culture, was as unfavourable to dramatic writing as to all other arts. The general state of disturbance was destructive of all creative genius.

CHAPTER VII

TOPICAL POETRY

DESPITE the fact that the national poetic taste appeared in the profane and religious folk-songs, and although the periodical feasts, with their innocent rejoicings, did much to elevate men's thoughts by taking them away from things merely practical, still the age of true poetry as an art and fosterer of imagination was past. We find none of its creations capable of ennobling life or of stimulating thought, none glowing with the true poetic fire. The writing of poetry had become a trade in which rude reality was the predominating feature. The didactic style prevailed, and, taking all their inspiration from the present time, our poets rarely got beyond bare description or the beaten track of narrow views. To poetic talent in its true sense, therefore, they can lay but little claim. Nevertheless, if one takes into consideration the earnestness and loyalty with which they worked for the cultivation of their contemporaries and the bettering of the State politically and religiously, they must be conceded a certain merit. The outspoken honesty with which they dared to proclaim the truth to the great ones of the earth had in it something of a refreshing spirit. They called virtue virtue and vice vice, and cited high and low alike before the Great Judge of good and evil. 'If you wish to read poetry,' says the 'Soul's Guide,' 'read that which under the

guise of fiction proclaims the truth ; which praises virtue and condemns vice ; which will teach you to labour and to pray.' They urged men to labour, and we find this the theme of much of the writings of the day ; witness, for instance, Rosenplüt in his 'Miracle of the Drop of Sweat.' 'Work,' he says, 'is the divinest law on earth. Work is serving God, and the industrious man has a great advantage over the idle and voluptuous ones, whose lives are full of care and anxiety. Idleness and extravagance are the sources of much evil ; regret follows a life of idleness and luxury.'

In the year 1461 the preacher Ulrich Boner wrote in his book, 'Precious Stones,' 'He who passes his youth in idleness will probably in age have his eyes swollen with tears of regret.'

A work after the Italian style, written by Hans von Vintler in the year 1486, and entitled 'The Book of Virtues,' belonged to the didactic school so much in vogue. It was directed against the licentious lives of the young aristocrats, who 'knew better how manure enriched the soil than in what true nobility consisted.' Moreover he animadverted severely on the pride and extravagance of high position. 'Let anyone seeking to behold the wonders beyond the sea come to me, and I will show him plenty of curiosities in the way of bracelets and bonnets and hair gear ! Our fops wear the toggery of buffoons ; the women sweep up the mud with trains two yards long, and wear lappels to their caps three times this length—they wish to make themselves as conspicuous as men. As a friend I blame them for that which dishonours them, for those who are pious deserve to be warned. But there are needy women of noble birth who desire to be decked like princesses with pearls

and gold, though they have not as much in their kitchen as would feed a chicken. Yet I can swear there is no garment more beautiful than modesty.' In order to enforce the strength of his invective against the popular vices Vintler brought forward examples from the past, and told numberless stories to prove the evil of superstitious belief in fortune-telling and dreams. 'Had the fortune-teller,' he says, 'the power that he claims, God would cease to be God.' 'Many a holy man has had to labour long and wearily before God made known to him the teaching of a mystery. Will He then, think you, obey the mandate of a sorcerer?'

A pamphlet entitled 'Spiegel des Regiments in der Fürsten Höfe' (The Mirror of the Court Government) is equally severe on the courtiers. Writing from his own experience, the unknown author holds up before those in high places a picture of their conduct, showing how disastrous it is to their inferiors; and he gives them much sound advice. Johann Roch, city recorder at Eisenbach, and later prebendary at the cathedral, gave advice to the knights in his 'Ritter Spiegel' and in his 'Counsel to Councillors.' The author of 'The Devil's Net' gravely exposes the different vices of the different States in an imaginary conversation between the Devil and a hermit. He finds sin everywhere, and approves only of hermits, monks, those who become voluntarily poor, and those who live in retirement. His zeal for the unity of the Church and for obedience to her authority, and his loyalty to the Emperor, are equally apparent. Speaking of the electoral princes, he complains, 'They have sworn fidelity to the empire, but their oath is forgotten. They have allowed the empire to be dismembered and they have divided the spoils.'

The popular poem 'Die Welshgattung' (The Italian Race) had a strong political tendency. It exposed the failings of all classes, but was particularly severe on the princes and on the advocates of the newly introduced Roman Code. According to the writer, all power must be concentrated in one man if Germany was not to go to the wall. The emperors had made so many concessions that they were no longer obeyed. Before it was too late the leaders in the land should join in restoring all his supreme power to the Emperor. If the unity of the Fatherland was thus restored, the prevailing abuses would disappear. Otherwise the Empire would inevitably fall.

Sebastian Brant addressed the following advice to the princes and other self-seeking authorities: 'In the name of God, princes, consider your conduct; suppose the empire falls, you yourselves are not immutable! All bodies are stronger when united than when divided. Unity brings power, but division weakness. Germany was once so strong in unity that it commanded universal respect, but now the Germans are destroying their own kingdom. You have to-day a good king, whose sceptre will guide you all wisely, if you will but come to his aid. The good Prince Maximilian is worthy of the Imperial crown. He will rule our sacred land and save you from being like the seafarer asleep on the stormy ocean Awake from your dreams! The axe is at the root of the tree.'

The author of 'Die Welshgattung' shows his patriotism by defending the simple judicial procedure of the old German law against the subtleties of the Roman Code.

Among the many satires levelled against the abuses

among the clergy and the ignorance of statesmanship in the princes, which were so disastrous to the people, may be mentioned 'Reineke Vos' (The Romance of a Fox), which appeared in Lübeck in 1498, and is one of the most important poems as a specimen of Low German dialect. It is an adaptation of the poet Wilhelm's 'Reynard.'

'Narrenschiff' (The Fools' Bark), by Sebastian Brant, is without doubt the most remarkable of the popular poems of its time (1494). It is satirical in form but profoundly religious in spirit. The reputation of German poetry, which had steadily declined for more than a century, was raised both at home and abroad by this production. Few works in literature can boast of such a decided and immediate success as the 'Narrenschiff.' Copies of it were spread over all Germany in an incredibly short time. It was translated into Low German and Dutch. Twice it was translated into Latin. In France three translations of it appeared in different editions. In England it was translated twice. Emendations, imitations, and adaptations of it appeared in shoals from year to year. Contemporaneous writers compared the poet to Dante. Trithemius said, 'The "Narrenschiff" is a divine satire,' and he expressed a doubt that anything could be found to equal it in eloquence and profundity. Wimpheling recommended its use in the schools, and Geiler von Kaisersberg quoted from it in many of his sermons. Although Brant may be said to have imitated styles already in vogue, it must be acknowledged that he was the founder of a certain epoch of literature. 'He was the first fully to express the ideas of the middle classes and to inaugurate what may be called a *bourgeois* literature.' No poet

before or after him so thoroughly united the deep earnestness and the fearless humour which were the most characteristic features of the German middle classes of the period. He left the impress of his own individuality on the language, and more than one of his peculiar expressions or turns form the linguistic graces of succeeding generations. With fearless candour Brant reproaches those in power, both clerics and laymen, with their shortcomings. When and wherever he encounters vice he exposes it unsparingly. Sometimes with severity, sometimes with wit, he brings before our eyes the miser and the usurer, the builder and the mechanic, the peasant and the beggar, the litigious, the gambler, and the astrologer. Of the latter he says: 'It is not fitting that a Christian should have recourse to pagan practices—that he should consult the planets whether it be the day to buy, to build, to fight, to marry, or to form a friendship. Our work and conduct and recompense should come from God, and tend to Him alone.'

It was not alone the vices and weaknesses of his time that Brant scourged unmercifully, but those which are common to humanity in all ages; as, for instance, when he attacks the pride which makes men aspire beyond their condition, the vanity of the world, the dishonesty of adulterating mercantile goods, the want of conscience with which the labourer or mechanic accomplishes his task, we see our own age as clearly mirrored as that in which the poet wrote. It speaks well, however, for the contemporaries of Brant that they accepted in such a good spirit corrections so severely administered by him, Heynlin, and Geiler von Kaisersberg.

Brant is not a mere satirist or moralist, but a

fervently religious poet, who brands all those as *fools* who are willing to barter things eternal for those which are transitory. Although this famous book takes its name from these 'fools,' it also teaches the wisdom which gains eternal life; and for this reason Geiler of Kaisersberg calls it 'The Mirror of Salvation.' Brant's son, Onufrius (the pupil of Zasius) says of the 'Narrenschiff': 'It does not teach foolish things, but exposes folly. It shows how many fools vanity blinds. This book teaches us all virtue: it is a ship freighted with good for us. If we read between the lines, it would save us from eternal death and bear us to celestial shores. When we know it well we may call it "Salvation's Ship."'

CHAPTER VIII

PROSE AND POPULAR READING

THE prose of a nation is as characteristic of its culture as is the poetry. As the latter forms, to a certain extent, the first natural beginning of an artistic handling of language, so the former represents the goal attained through much labour and exertion of the mind. In the historic growth of a nation we always find poets before prose-writers, for an artistic and perfect use of prose bespeaks an advanced stage of national culture.

In Germany, while poetry was gradually falling into decadence, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, prose on the other hand was ripening to perfection side by side with the development of the plastic arts. It made such gigantic strides in compass, variety, and importance, that not only were the foundations of all that was perfected in later centuries laid down then, but in every separate branch of prose writing—philosophy, narrative, rhetoric—numbers of works were brought out, and these often of distinguished character.

The narrative style, both in history and fiction, was brought to great perfection. Proofs of this we may find in the book entitled 'Consolation of the Soul' (written in the Cologne dialect), also in the Low-German fables and proverbs to be found in the chronicles of the Dominican Hermann Corner, of Lübeck, in which the

tales are told with great versatility and dramatic interest.

The writers of fiction in Lower Germany were especially distinguished for their ingenuous, elegant, and poetic style of diction. The translations also were particularly well done, a good example of which is the German version from the Latin of 'The Seven Sages.' The writers lean to the popular dialect, and avoid throughout the use of all those foreign words and expressions which in later times so greatly disfigured literary work. The style is simple, graceful, and charming.

Several of the historical works of this period are written in a direct and truly epic style, very appropriate to the events and characters. The 'Limburg Chronicle,' which belongs to the fourteenth century, gives a good idea of the style of the epoch. Of like character are the 'Chronicles of Alsace,' by Jacob Twinger, canon of Strasburg (from Königshofen), and the 'Chronicles of Thuringia,' by Johannes Rothe, a priest of Eisenach. The popular Bavarian chroniclers, Hans Ebran of Wildenberg, Ulrich Fütrer, and Veit Arnpeck, the precursors of the historian Johann Thurmayer (surnamed Aventin), were also examples of persevering industry, true love of their profession, and pure literary talent. The Sleswick historian, Peter Eschenloer, was distinguished for his accurate use of documentary evidence. Switzerland is remarkably rich in historians, and among the most renowned of these we may place Melchior Russ and Petermann Etterlin, of Lucerne, Conrad Justinger and Diebold Schilling, of Bern.

We have a remarkable record of burgher life in the autobiography and town chronicles of the great traveller

and tax-receiver Burkard Zink, of Augsburg. With delightful candour and in fluent language he imparts to the reader a knowledge of his own travels and of the popular life in the rich city of Augsburg, while he evinces the deepest interest in the concerns and welfare of the people.

Even better, from a literary point of view, is the 'Nuremberg Chronicle,' by Siegmund Meisterlin. For a long time it was looked upon as a work of much importance. Having completed his education at the famous Benedictine school of SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, Meisterlin was commissioned by the Nuremberg council to visit the monasteries of Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, in order to collect materials for a book on the monasteries, which work he completed in the year 1488. In the preface and elsewhere he speaks beautifully of the importance of history and of the mission of the historian. He proposes to himself the task of teaching the rising generation the glorious past of Nuremberg, to the end that they may be strengthened by the study of what their forefathers had done, and may learn to honour what they had acquired. 'I believe it well for all, conducive to the common good, when our young men follow the good example of their fathers and maintain the order which they established. Cicero says that all are stimulated by the hope of praise and glory; what is contemptible seeks concealment. Our young men will be encouraged by the praises of their forefathers, who had been sorely tried and had overcome much. They will avoid evil, practise virtue, love peace, and be exemplary at home and abroad. For this reason we devote ourselves to history, throwing aside what is but fable and legend, for history only asks

for truth. We undertake this task hoping for the approval of all who love the renown and good of the Fatherland.' The goddess of Envy said: 'As she wandered all over Germany, she saw no city where Divine worship was more devout, where the clergy were better educated, where more alms were given or stricter justice practised, than in Nuremberg.'

After Meisterlin, the task of writing history in Nuremberg passed literally into the hands of the people. The chronicles written by a brewer and guardian of the poor, Heinrich Deichsler, as well as many other annals of current events, introduce the reader into the heart of the burgher life and the interests of the times. So vividly do they depict the manners and pastimes of high and low that we seem to walk the streets, aye, even to enter the very homes. It would be difficult to find popular annals of any age which would compare in fulness with those written in Nuremberg in the last years of the fifteenth century.

In the 'Cronica van der hilligen stat von Coellen, written in the local dialect by an unknown author in 1499, a most interesting statistical history of the Middle Ages is preserved to us. It shows us also, by its pure and attractive style, how far superior the Low-German writing was to the Upper German. It is not confined to the history of the city of Cologne, but, after dealing with that city, takes up matters of universal interest. In the preface, after enlarging on the utility of historical studies, the author says that, 'for the honour of God, His holy Mother, and the three kings, I have taken courage, through the grace of God, to compile a history taken from the German and Latin Chronicles, which are so useful and interesting to read. I shall write this

book in the local dialect because every man, according to his natural bent, is more inclined to his own nationality and that which belongs to it, and loves to hear of the land which gave him birth and of the deeds of his forefathers, rather than of strangers. Therefore I shall write what is interesting and remarkable in the history of Germany. And as the most honourable and sacred town of Cologne is called the metropolis and capital town of all German lands, I shall, according to the adage, "Paris for France, London for England, Rome for Italy, Cologne for Germany," begin by relating the origin and commencement of this same city according to what is found in ancient documents.' The chronicler is by no means ignorant of the corruption of the time or of the grievous abuses both among the laity and the clergy, but he does not sympathise with those who denounce the particular century. 'Those who have preceded us have had much more to suffer than we. In comparison with those times the present are golden years. Just because of the peaceful and happy days which we enjoy are we the more apt to be disturbed by the anxieties and cares which are inevitable.'

Jacob Unrest, the Austrian chronicler, pastor of St. Martin's at Techelsberg, in Carinthia, whose writings come down to 1499, approaches nearest to the manner of the Cologne chronicler. The South German dialect, with its many provincialisms, is peculiarly fitting to the naïve, simple, pithy style of the Chronicles. The author possesses quick perception, sound judgment, and even temper. His simple words breathe an elevated idea of right and truth—another point of resemblance to the chronicler of Cologne. Both men are determined, to the best of their ability and knowledge, to tell the

plain unvarnished truth, and to expose abuses, whether found in priest or in layman. The advice given in 'The Soul's Guide' was as applicable to them as to other historians of the century: 'The powerful ones of the earth, laymen and ecclesiastics, should learn from times gone by to be earnest, humble, and good. The frivolous come to want and evil, the haughty shall be smitten by God, but peace and grace shall flow to the humble well-doer. There is a Prince above earthly princes, a Judge above earthly judges, who rewards and punishes. These are the lessons to be learned from the past, and be it known that every sin brings its own punishment.'

Like the best artists of the age, the chroniclers did not aim at wielding personal influence. Their desire was that the matter of their work should instruct, animate, and purify. They were too deeply impressed with the true object of history and the noble mission of the historian—'Like a mirror of Divine justice, to honour and praise the good men of the past, to brand the acts of the wicked, and to lead the living to paths of well-doing'—to employ any of the artifices of rhetoric. We often find in the old chronicles warnings similar to that addressed by Hans Ebran von Wildenberg to the princes: 'O rulers, lay as well as cleric, turn from your sins, lest the punishment of God fall on all Christendom! You will be held responsible at the Last Judgment.'

In almost all the old chronicles we are struck by the writers' loyalty to the people, to the Fatherland, and to the Roman Emperor of the Germans, whom Burkard Zink calls 'the prince above all Christian princes and rulers.' 'The Book of Chronicles,' which

appeared in 1493, says: 'Germany, converted through the holy faith to goodness and virtue, is known everywhere through her trade and commerce, through her hospitality to visitors, and her sympathy with the afflicted. She is behind no nation in manners or morals, in political power and in her warriors; neither does she cede to other nations a claim to greater wealth in metals, for they get nearly all their silver from German merchants. Our nation can raise sufficient troops, without foreign help, to withstand other countries. Much can be said in praise of Germany's culture, justice, faith, and loyalty.' Even the histories of foreign countries were written 'so as to reflect honour on the German nation,' as Bernhard Schöferlin expressly says in his 'Roman History,' published by Johann Schöferlin in Mayence in the year 1505.

This work is worthy of notice for many reasons over and above its correctness of style. It alludes in the preface to the then popular books on chivalry, and, agreeing with the principle inculcated in 'The Soul's Guide,' that 'truth is higher and worthier than all the imaginative flights of fiction,' recommends the study of history as the best antidote to false representations. The author, a doctor of imperial law, says: 'I shall not confine myself to any special books, but shall cull from authoritative Latin and Greek works, following the example of the bee that sucks sweetness from a variety of flowers in order to make its honey. I shall hope to put my work into pure German, and I shall trust that some good will spring from it, or at least that it will be found as beneficial as those books on chivalry which are widely read, and which are made up of fables incapable of giving men the intelligent ideas of praise-

worthy ambition excited by conscientious historians.' This sentiment finds an echo in 'The Soul's Guide': 'In our day everyone aspires to read and write; this is praiseworthy, and very much to be recommended when the books are good, but not when they incite to sensuality and immodesty. Such is the character of many books of fiction; do not read them. Read good books and authentic histories; this is good for thy salvation.' 'The Consolation of the Soul,' taking still higher ground, says: 'There are many who read or listen to bad books, but they waste their time, for they find in them no consolation for their souls. Idle people read books about Tristan, about Dietrich of Bern, and the giants of old who served the world and not God. In these books there is no good, for they contain no consolation for the soul. To read them is a waste of time, and we shall have to account to God for misspent hours.'

These quotations give us some idea of the many popular books.

Among the works whose poetic and romantic character appealed most to the imagination of the German people, those which dwelt on their own and foreign heroes held the first place. Many of them were only prose versions of old poems. To this class belonged the History of Duke Ernest—a popular favourite on account of his misfortunes and courage—which was published towards the close of the fifteenth century, the History of William of Austria (1481), of Wigalois—the Knight of the Wheel—(1493), and that of Frederic Barbarossa (1519); the old tradition of the adversities of the mermaid Melusine (1474), a touching picture of maternal love, the loves of Prince Floris and his dear Bianceffora (1499), and the story of Lother

and Maller (1514), which belonged to the Carlovingian traditions. The story of Tristan and Isolde reappeared in the year 1498, and the compiler says of it in his preface that the reading proves that 'unlawful love brings only sorrow and want, and leads even the noblest characters to an evil and unhappy end.'

Among the popular books of the fifteenth century may be mentioned a novel published in 1471. The heroine, Griselda, a peasant ennobled through her marriage, remains faithful and true to her husband, the margrave, notwithstanding his cruelty to her. We would also mention the 'Teachings of the Seven Sages,' a fifteen-volume work, which has attained to many editions since 1473, and, finally, the 'Marvels of Fortunatus, with his Wishing Cap and Purse' (1509).

The satirical and comic books which were so popular in Germany in the fifteenth century, and which were filled with humour of every kind, from pleasant raillery to downright coarseness and buffoonery, help us to understand much of the spirit of the age. We may apply to them the words of Eulenspiegel to the hostess of Nugenstädten, 'That is my business.' By this 'business' the writers tried to justify the rude style which they used against the over-culture and pedantry as well as the other abuses of the age. One of the most popular books of this class was 'The Questions and Answers of King Solomon and Marcolph,' which was first published in 1487. Plain common sense is here contrasted with vain learning, and natural understanding claims the victory over blatant pedagogism. All the proverbs of Solomon are parodied extemporaneously by Marcolph; for instance, 'So that the king, bearing crown and sceptre, dodged before and behind

the sun, while his shadow, dragging in the mud, seemed to mock the royal dignity.'

Marcolph is, however, far surpassed by Till Eulenspiegel, the jester *par excellence* of the lower classes, who got credit for all the jokes of the century. This book is the most complete collection of witticisms imaginable. It spares neither priest nor layman, learned nor unlearned, high nor low. It bears the imprint of the lower classes of society, from which it took its origin, and betrays a certain malicious cunning, which pervades all Eulenspiegel's characters, and which is a marked trait of the German peasant. The emblem on the title-page is well chosen. An owl peering into a mirror seems to reflect the bitter, feline, mean attacks in the book. While, however, its ridicule of the higher classes is rude and uncouth, it never descends to obscenity. It is worthy of remark that even here, as in the vulgar plays of the carnival time, despite all the satires on the personal vices of the clergy, the Church itself is never attacked; while, on the contrary, the same respect is not shown to the Reformation.

The taste for foreign travel which was so general in the fifteenth century gave a special character to the literature of the time, and made accounts of journeys particularly popular; for instance, 'The Travels of Marco Polo,' 'The Adventurous Journey of Sir John Mandeville,' and the descriptions of the newly discovered Western world.

The writings of Godfrey de Bouillon and the Crusaders, describing pilgrimages into the Holy Land, gave a religious colouring to this class of literature. 'There are many books describing the Holy Places which pious Christians from far-off lands visit for the

honour of God and the veneration of His blessed Mother and saints, and where they sing and pray. Read such books to inflame thy heart; be cheerful, take thy staff; be filled with courage, humility, and piety, and pray to God and His saints. As it is pleasant to visit new lands and people, so should we wish to make pilgrimages to sacred places.'

Among these descriptions of travels two are specially worthy of notice: 'The Pilgrimage of the Knight Arnold Harff to the Holy Land,' and the book published in 1486 by the Chamberlain Bernhard von Breidenbach under the title, 'Die heyligen Rayssen ghen Jherusalem' ('The Holy Journeys to Jerusalem'). The latter contains full and exact descriptions of different places, and gives vivid pictures of their condition at that time. Take, for instance, the following glowing description: 'I have not seen or heard any man who says that he has beheld the like of the church at Bethlehem for costliness and solemnity. For very many great and noble pillars of marble are set in it in four rows. Also the outer church, called the "Ship" of the church, from the pillars to the balcony, is made of beautiful noble mosaic work, with all the histories from the beginning of the world to the Day of Judgment. Also the whole upper pavement of the church is made of marble of many colours, embellished with beautiful painting, and all so costly that many think its value cannot be estimated.' This book went through several editions in German and Latin, and was translated into Dutch, French, and Italian, and in 1498 even into Spanish.

The dedication of the book, to the archbishop of Mayence, Berthold von Henneberg, contains a remark-

able passage on the spread of books and the rage of the day for writing. It reminds one of the words in the 'Seelenführer': 'Everybody nowadays wants to read and to write.' 'There is no end,' says Breidenbach, 'to the new books that are written. Learned and unlearned write poetry and make books—garrulous old women, twaddling old men, chattering sophists—all pride themselves that they can write. It has actually come to this, that, in plain words, anyone who can use a pen, anyone who can put words together in writing, or can transpose and *mis*-arrange them, flatters himself he has made a new book.'

Conspicuous among those who contributed to the development of German prose were Heinrich Steinhöwel, a doctor of Ulm, and the Wurtemberg Chancellor, Nicholas von Wyle, both of them translators of works of fiction from Latin, French, and Italian. Even noble ladies, such as the Duchess Margaret of Lorraine, her daughter the Countess Elizabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken, and the Archduchess Eleanor of Austria, distinguished themselves by their translations. The latter published at Augsburg in 1483 the romaunt of Pontus and Sidonia, which, for love of her consort, the Archduke Sigmund, she had arranged from the French in order that 'much good learning and instruction and comparison might be obtained from it, especially by the young, if so be they would hear and understand the good deeds and the great honour and virtue of their parents and ancestors.' [1]

An extraordinary mass of material for narrative—anecdotes, stories, historical deeds, and parables—

[1] See Wackernagel, *Litteratur*, pp. 356-357; Holland, pp. 140-142; Lindemann, *History of German Literature*.

brought over to the West of Europe by the Crusaders, and the advancing study of the ancient writings, is collected together in the 'Deeds of the Romans,' which was published in 1489, and was the first work of pure High German prose fiction.[1]

'The German nation,' writes Wimpheling, 'has an unquenchable love both for song and for narrative of all sorts.' Hence it was the habit of the publishers to enliven the contents of purely instructive prose writings by the insertion here and there of light or serious romance; as, for instance, in the pamphlet by Albrecht von Eyb, of Bamberg, 'Whether or No a Man should take a Legal Wife'; in the 'Mirror of Virtue and Decorousness,' by Marquard von Stein; and in that book of religious edification we have already so often referred to, the 'Seelen-trost.' In this last we find, among others, the well-known story of the 'Gang nach dem Eisenhammer.' By the end of the century there were already three collections wholly consisting of tales with a didactic purpose compiled from the fields of history or romance.[2]

Fables were also used for instructional purposes. Thus, for example, in 1483, Eberhard of the Beard, of Wurtemberg, had the Oriental book of fables, 'Bidpai,' 'Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen,' translated from Latin. The fables of St. Cyril, or the 'Book of Natural Wisdom,' were published at Augsburg in 1490, and in 1484 the 'Book and Life of the Fable-writer Esop, translated from Greek into Latin,' was published in German by Steinhöwel, 'to the praise of the Archduke Siegmund of Austria.' This book was one of the greatest favourites of the day. 'The reader,' says

[1] *Gesta Romanorum.* [2] Wackernagel, p. 358.

Steinhöwel, 'should, like the bee, suck the honey from the flowers; not only read the stories, but feed on their morals.'

There was a marked development also at this period in the prose writings which dealt with natural science, medicine, and jurisprudence. To the latter branch Sebastian Brant contributed largely by his popular writings.

The capacity of the German language for philosophical expression is due to the Mystics. It was they who initiated and developed the art of expressing the most profound and abstract ideas in clear and intelligible German speech; while at the same time a wonderful poetic charm clothes all their utterances. Many of their treatises and collections of abstruse maxims and rules for the contemplative life appeared, after the invention of printing, in a variety of editions; those especially of Henry Suso, John Tauler, and Otto von Passau, and the translations of the 'Imitation of Christ.'

Many of the fifteenth-century books of devotion and edification are among the noblest monuments of German prose: for instance, the 'Himmelstrasse,' the 'Seelen-trost,' the 'Schatzbehälter, oder Schrein der wahren Reichthümer des Heils.' In simplicity and vigour of language, in penetration, truth, and depth of matter, they are unequalled in single passages, and, of their kind, are altogether unsurpassable models.

In oratorical prose Geiler von Kaisersberg was conspicuously a master, both as regards eloquence of language and depth of thought. In his collected sermons he shows a profound knowledge of mankind, clear calm reasoning powers, and the gift of popular

expression; all his similes, images, and allegories, his proverbs, plays on words, and witticisms, his fables, stories, and anecdotes are taken fresh from life and reality. Hence his sermons are a perfect mine of information concerning the national life of the time.

At the close of the Middle Ages German authors wrote in several different dialects; but it was from a mixture of Upper and Lower German, in which the dialect of Mid-Germany played a leading part, that the so-called universal German ('gemeines Deutsch') developed, and which became, chiefly through the exertions of the Emperor Maximilian, the general language of the empire and of diplomacy.

It was Luther who first made it the general language of literature; his books were written in 'gemeines Deutsch.' He protects himself against the charge of being the inventor of a new language in the following words: 'I have no special peculiar German language of my own, but I use that which is common to Germans, so that both the 'Ober- and Niederländer' may understand me. I speak the same language as the Saxon chancellors, whose lead is followed by all the kings and princes in Germany.' The Emperor Maximilian and the Elector Frederic, Duke of Saxony, may be said to have consolidated all the different forms of German speech in the Roman Empire into one language.

If we except Luther, with his remarkable natural gift of speech, which was developed in an unusual degree by diligent study of the fifteenth-century prose writers and by his intercourse with the people, we may fairly assert that in the sixteenth, not to say the seventeenth, century, as compared with the fifteenth, prose

composition of all sorts was decidedly retrogressive; and that in place of the earlier simple, natural, fluent writing, a sort of clumsy, jerky stuttering and stammering had come into fashion, which cannot be read without a feeling of pain.[1]

German prose of the fifteenth century is not to be excelled in vigour and purity, and by reason of this vigour it has survived to this day as an imperishable monument of uncorrupted and unadulterated German national character.

[1] This conclusion was arrived at by the great 'Germanist' Franz Pfeiffer in his researches. See his *Germania*, iii. p. 409; see also Kurz, pp. 742, 743.

BOOK III

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Introduction

At the close of the Middle Ages political economy had advanced in the same proportion as the other sciences, and this fact is very easily understood. The development of a people consists in the co-operation of the various branches of culture; accordingly, we find economic progress going hand in hand with intellectual advancement. Economic progress exerts a powerful influence on mental culture, while the latter, in its turn, affects the condition of the former. History furnishes many proofs of the close relations between the two.

Political economy is concerned with the three branches of industry—agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

Agriculture has for its aim the production of raw material, and includes farming and cattle-breeding. Manufacturing deals with the transformation and utilisation of the natural productions, and comprises the whole range of industrial interests. Commerce, finally, is the means of exchange between nations, and is the avenue of supply and demand. Thus the various branches of political economy, being dependent on

each other, progress in the same proportion so long as the development of each is normal. They work together and are dependent on each other, so that agriculture and manufactures help each other, and commerce perfects the object of both. The politico-economic condition of a nation depends on the co-operation and equilibrium of these various branches.

Let a general social disturbance arise, let the mercantile spirit depress manufacturing interests or foster idleness, the politico-economic standing of the nation suffers, and, as a consequence, the moral and intellectual character. These evils increase in proportion as capital, which means unearned income, succeeds in influencing the relations between man and man for its own benefit.

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURAL LIFE

In considering the agricultural condition of a country, the first thing to be done is to get to know to whom the land belongs, how it is divided, and how it is worked.

At the close of the Middle Ages we find the greater portion of the soil belonging to sovereign princes (lay and ecclesiastical), to feudal lords, monasteries and institutions, to the nobles and the cities. Generally speaking, these different properties had not yet become amalgamated in great tracts, but belonged to separate owners, living quite at a distance from each other. It was very seldom that a whole village belonged to one person. It was generally held by three or four proprietors, who let it out to feudal lords, who in turn sublet to smaller tenants.

We find in almost all parts of Germany, particularly in those where the nobility had not great power, certain tracts belonging to peasant proprietors lying between the estates of the nobles. In the north-western and south-eastern portions of Germany, in Friesland and Lower Saxony, in Suabia, Franconia, and in the Rhine Provinces, in old Bavaria and the Tyrol, there were several prosperous landed peasant proprietors or corporations.

The principle of 'the indivisibility of property' almost universally hindered the breaking-up of pro-

perties, and was a great protection to the peasant population. Generally the eldest son inherited, not only the land, but all the stock and the farming and household utensils. The property descended from father to son, the brothers and sisters of the proprietor possessing a certain 'inalienable right' to support in the house. The house could not be sold or mortgaged without the consent of the next heir, and the Saxon law (*Sachsenspiegel*) obliged the latter to pay only such debts as were within the value of his chattels.[1] The object of this was to protect the peasants from usurious money-lenders. Geiler of Kaisersberg wrote: 'When the Jews know they cannot get much out of a property they will not lend much.'

Among both the freehold and leasehold peasant properties there were three different classes—those of from 90 to 330 acres, those of 60 acres, and those of less extent.

Besides the 'farmers,' there were (under various names) 'house tenants,' who possessed merely a hut, or at most a cottage and garden or a little field. The heritages and property which belonged to the Church were of vital importance to the very poor, because they consisted not only of houses, but of tracts of land, for the care of which the Church was held responsible, and which were the means of providing many with shelter and work. In the middle of the fifteenth century Church lands were sub-rented to peasants, from among whom 'collectors of tithes' were appointed. These collectors were responsible for the rents in money or

[1] The possessions of the peasant tenant were looked upon as inalienable. See C. v. Vogelsang, *Die Nothwendigkeit einer neuen Grundenlastung* (Vienna, 1880), p. 11.

produce. There were also ' free farmers ' on Church or seignorial land, paying generally to the lord of the soil the ' third sheaf.' The first sheaf was supposed to pay the necessary expenses of cultivating, the remaining two went to the farmer and to the lord. Others held land for life, this land being termed ' Zinslehen ' (*i.e.* a feudal tenure for which rent is paid); others again *by inheritance* and in return for certain personal service. Many lived on the manors under the special protection of the lord of the soil, cultivating their land (*i.e.* the land of their lords), many as ' coloni ' on outlying (or detached) land.

The agricultural population being made up of these different classes of holders, it might be said that at the close of the Middle Ages most of the land was virtually in the hands of the tenants, the lords of the soil merely receiving rent or service for it. By degrees the possessions of tenants became as independent as those of free peasants.

We never find that tenants were serfs. Serfdom, which became so general after the close of the social revolution of the sixteenth century, was only known in the fifteenth century among the peasants of Pomerania. Besides, Germany was under the influence of the Church, which proclaimed the old Suabian common law taken from the Scripture: ' No man belongs to another '; also the imperial law: ' The people are God's and the tribute is the Emperor's.' These principles prevailed generally. Those who paid rent for their land, either in money or personal service, could not leave the holdings confided to them without the permission or knowledge of their lords; they were ' bound to the land,' but they had personal liberty, and their leases were for

the most part perpetual, descending from father to son, generally to the eldest. In case of no male issue the eldest daughter inherited. In case of there being no children the land reverted to the lord of the soil. Taxes were charged on the 'colonial' land (land cultivated by 'coloni'), while the seignorial and ecclesiastical proprietors were exempt with respect to their own land (*i.e.* land under their immediate management), which is an unanswerable proof that the 'colonial' estates were not looked upon as the exclusive property of the lord of the soil. They were '*tied* property' for landlord and tenant alike.

From a politico-economic point of view this species of tenure-right over tenants personally free was evidence of a care for the peasant on an hereditary basis. Through it he was assured a habitation and a living, the surest foundation for self-respecting independence. The hereditary leasing worked well agriculturally, for the tenant with a perpetual lease was as much interested in the improvement of the land as the lord of the soil. The hereditary tenant, even in those provinces (Pomerania, for instance) where at a later date the peasantry became so miserable, did not fear to improve the property, for the buildings and all their furniture, the seed and the cattle, were his. Even the forests were at his disposal for the necessities of husbandry.

The contemporary writer Kantzow says: 'The peasants of Pomerania pay a modest toll and render, besides, certain personal services. They are well-to-do, and when they no longer wish to belong to the manor they can, with the permission of the landlord, sell their holding and pay him a tenth of the price. Then they

are free to go, and take their children where they will.'

Kantzow writes further of the manor tenants of the island of Rugen: [1] 'The peasants of this land are rich and well-to-do; they pay a small toll and render some service, but otherwise they have no obligations. Most of them pay money instead of services; such persons consider themselves entirely free and refuse to pay court to the petty nobility. Their position is so good that sometimes a poor nobleman gives his daughter in marriage to a rich peasant, whose children look on themselves as half noble.'

The holdings of the 'temporary tenants' (termed leases on pleasure) could not be revoked, any more than the hereditary leases, for the sake of increase of rent or any arbitrary whim of the landlord.

The rights and obligations of the manor lords and manor tenants in most parts of Germany were clearly laid down in the so-called 'Oracles or Manor Rights.' These regulations, particularly those published in the fifteenth century, are striking evidences of the broad and impartial character of the German laws and of the good sense which inspired them. Complaints of trespassing and infringement on the part of both manor lord and tenant were frequent enough. In times of disturbance there were instances of encroachments and violence against the weak; but, generally, these

[1] Lette and V. Rönne, i. 17. The farms were formerly hereditary. In East and West Prussia the following law was in force until 1414: 'If the tenant makes over his lease to a bondsman with the permission of the landlord, having paid his tax, the latter cannot prevent his leaving.' In Westphalia we find the word slavery first in 1558 (see Kindlinger, *Höriqkeit*). There was no question of serfdom; it was unknown before the sixteenth century (see G. Haussen, p. 12).

troubles were settled either by legal redress or amicable compensation.

The manor lords and manor tenants were put in possession by the lord of the soil or by his representative. Before this investiture the incoming party made an oath of allegiance which bound him to all the required conditions. With this oath of allegiance began the duty of the lord to protect the property of the tenant and to provide for him in case of war, famine, or other great calamity. Although 'bound to the soil,' the tenant could, without the permission of the lord, send his children or members of his family into the service of other masters, or into cities or villages, where they could earn the right of citizenship. Should the tenant wish to leave the manor, he had to discharge all outstanding rent or service, settle with his creditors, and publicly—sometimes at the church on Sunday—announce his intention. He must leave 'in full daylight'—that is, openly. 'His preparations,' the law enjoined, 'must be made by daylight; the fire must be extinguished before sunset. In the evening his goods or baggage must be put upon a waggon, the pole of which pointed in the direction in which he intended going, and then he was to be accompanied on the road by many.'[1] Former tenants could return to their holdings by re-assuming the imposed conditions.[2]

[1] *Weisthum des Hofes Prouzfeld bei Prüm*, 1476; Niederbüren, 1469; Tablat, 1471; Grimm, *Weisthümer*, i. 219–225, ii. p. 558. Among the regulations of the Abbey of Alpirsbach we find the following: 'The tenant, having paid his obligations, may go where he will. The bailiff shall take leave of him with the words, "Go, in the name of God; should it be to your advantage to return, come. You will find us what you have already found us"' (Grimm, i. 376).

[2] The *Weisthümer* of 1477, 1518; Grimm, i. 248, ii. 292; Maurer,

The rentals of manor tenants were generally very moderate, and often paid in kind or in services whose nature was exactly agreed upon. For instance, in Austria, only twelve days' service during the year was required. A very peculiar tax was the 'death tax,' by which on the death of a tenant the heir was obliged to pay 'the best head or chattel,' which meant the best head of cattle or article of clothing. This tax corresponded to the 'succession tax,' which was exacted in towns from 'non-burghers,' although not nearly so high as the latter, which in some cases reached 25 per cent.[1] In the Austrian dukedoms, where the 'best tax' was abolished as an intolerable imposition, there was a death tax of 5 per cent. on all unencumbered inheritance, from which, however, pious bequests, instruments of husbandry, and clothing and such things, were excepted. In Tyrol the lord of the soil received a 'succession tax' of only 1 per cent.

As an acknowledgment of suzerainty the law in many places prescribed a service clause. In the district of Langenberg, for instance, the inhabitants of eight villages were in the habit of coming in pairs uninvited during the three days of Whitsuntide, and dancing under the linden trees in the presence of the landlord, who entertained them with cake and beer. Those who remained away or refused to dance were punished.

While performing their feudal services the peasants were supported by the landlord. We find that the knights of the Teutonic Order at Tischingen gave their

Fronhofe, iii. pp. 134–137. At the beginning of the sixteenth century many landlords gave their tenants complete freedom.

[1] As in Constance, 1512. Mone, xvii. p. 132.

service-tenants red wine, beef, and barley bread while the tenants in return rendered their service. In the documents of the archbishopric of Strasburg we read: 'Be it known that every manor tenant shall pay each year three days' bodily service as the bailiff may direct him; when the day is over he shall sit upon a stool, and the bailiff shall give him a loaf long enough to reach from his knee to his chin, called the "night loaf."' In the documents of Hansbergen, near Strasburg, we read: 'The peasants shall be served twice a year with two dishes of meat, and the meat shall be four fingers wider than the dishes, and there shall be new glasses and new dishes, and enough of wine.' At Alzey 'the peasants, men and women, had to give two days at harvest time. When the women had young children, they must go home three times a day to suckle them. At night each man shall receive such a loaf as the twenty-fourth part of a hogshead of grain will make.' The law was very explicit in regard to the amount of provisions to be allowed to wine carriers, and, while it generously stipulated 'two kinds of meat, two kinds of bread, and two kinds of wine,' it took care that they should not take too much of the latter. In the Chronicles ('Weisthümer') of the Abbey of Prüm we read: 'When the carrier arrives at evening at the Moselle he shall be fed with soup and sufficient wine. On the road he shall have one quart of wine to each mile, but he shall not drink so much that he cannot take care of the goods under his charge. When he comes home he shall have two sorts of meat, two sorts of wine, and two sorts of bread; but he shall not drink enough to make him strike against the door, else he shall be punished.' The

term of body service was generally two days, often one day and one night.

The money or service rents of the manor lord or manor tenant, according to law, were delivered by him personally or by his representative to the lord of the soil, and it was not unusual for these payments to be returned by gifts or otherwise. The tenant or his messenger was entertained by the lord; in some places even clothed and amused by music and dancing. For instance, the Ranger of Laufen, when he paid his dues of swine at the Castle of Constance, received in return 'the weight of his fattest pig in rye.' The messenger who brought the shoulders and hams of swine to the Castle at Hirscholm was to be honourably received and placed at a table with white vessels. His horse was to be placed in the stable overnight, and have a sufficient feed of oats; on taking his departure in the morning the man was to receive a fee 'according to ancient custom.' The carpenters and coalmen belonging to the manor of Sigolsheim, between Colmar and Schlettstadt, fared even better. On presenting their dues 'each man shall receive one yard of cloth to make a pair of breeches. . . . Whoever shall cut wood in our forests shall receive from each house an ounce of pennies, and be well and kindly received at Munsterthal.' 'At night a straw bed shall be made for him; an old man shall watch his clothes in order that they may not be burned. The Abbot of St. Gregory shall give him two pairs of new shoes. He shall then go to the farm of Wilze to breakfast, and thence to the farm of Durincheim, where he shall be well treated, and given red wine out of the cask.'

In the book of 'Manor Rights' dues of Menchinger

(1441) we read: 'The bailiff has a "harvest right"; all those who cannot mow must rake one day for him.[1] A bell shall be rung to call them to the house of the bailiff, when a piper shall conduct them to the field, who in the evening shall lead them back.' The same 'Manor-right Law' requires that 'when the fisherman brings fish to the manor house the wife of the bailiff shall give him a good loaf, and when he has done his work extraordinarily well she shall be very good to him, and give him a roast.'

Besides the taxes which were brought, there were others, so called 'collectable,' which were collected by the manor lord. The precision of the laws shows remarkable consideration; for instance, the baby in the cradle must not be wakened, nor shall the fowl on the nest be frightened. Should the wife of the tenant be in child-bed, the collector must be content with the head of a fowl, leaving the body for the strengthening of the invalid. When the collector took lodgings at the tenant's he was obliged to leave his sword and spurs at the door, 'so as not to frighten the wife.'

A sentence taken from the 'Manor Laws' of the manor of Walmersheim, which belonged to the Abbey of Prüm, may serve to show us with what care the rights of all were respected: 'Besides the other taxes, each quarter of land shall pay the manor lord seven eggs. The eighth egg shall be placed by the wife on the threshold and broken; the part that falls inside

[1] Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 395 (see p. 318). 'I consider,' says Grimm, 'that the terms of leasing and of service in the olden time were better and easier than the conditions under which the peasants and factory workers are now. The law which prevailed through the whole German Empire making the rising and setting of the sun legal time, so to speak, was often advantageous to the worker.'

shall belong to the tenant, that on the outside to the lord.'

The laws with regard to the punishment of those backward in their payments give us much information about the condition of the tenants. Generally the penalty consisted of a small money fine or some slight compensation in the shape of bread or wine. Occasionally the holding was confiscated, but the law recommended the lord 'not to be hard, and to allow sufficient time; to be merciful to the poor in particular, unless they be obstinate and extravagant.'

Usually the delinquent was allowed a reprieve. In the regulations of Kleinfrankenheim, in Lower Alsatia, we read: 'He who has not paid his rent in the sunlight and before the sun sets must give seven shillings, when the agent may, in the presence of two witnesses, deprive such a one of his land; but he must be given three notices within fourteen days. The messenger who brings the notices shall receive two measures of wine. Should the dues not be paid at the end of the fourteen days, the poor man need not fear any process for a year, when the land belongs to the lord to dispose of as he pleases. But if, during the year, the tenant was not at home when the notices were served, or if the back charges are all paid, the agent shall reinstate the tenant.' Up to the last moment the dilatory tenant could remit his dues to the collector. The manor laws of Birgel, the property of St. Peter's manor of Mayence, decree that 'on St. Thomas's Day preceding Christmas each tenant shall pay his lord thirty pennies, and if he has not the money he may give security. If in the course of the day he does not give either money or security, the bailiff shall put the land into the hands

of the lord. Should the agent coming to collect the tax meet the poor man bringing his dues before he reach the great door, then shall he remit him his debt.'

In reference to the treatment of those who did not pay their dues, either in money or kind, the Chronicle of Bieber (in Hundsruck), in 1506, says: 'The bailiff himself shall not go to distrain. He shall seek the judge of the district, who shall repair to the house of the tenant and distrain only what is sufficient to pay the outstanding debts. The agent shall remain outside, and not go into the house.' If the judge found enough in the house to meet the debt, he handed it over the fence to the bailiff, but if not he begged the latter to have patience 'until God stretched forth His hand to the poor man.'

All these ordinances, so minutely framed, clearly prove that 'the poor man,' personally free, still belonged to the estate, was not without protection, and that his position with regard to his landlord was anything but degrading. This ownership of the tenant secured him his living, and in most cases made the home an inheritance from father to son. Where the tenant gave personal service he was looked upon as belonging to the household of the landlord.

There was great variety in the characteristics of the rural settlements. The villages in the mountainous districts in a large portion of the Tyrol, in Upper and Lower Austria, in Styria, in Carinthia, in the Bavarian Highlands, and in the moorlands of the North and Baltic Seas, were nothing more than scattered groups of farms, seignorial manors. The peasants of Pomerania and Lower Bavaria dwelt on isolated farms; those of

the Rhenish provinces lived on closely grouped farms, and those of the western forest lands dwelt in small villages or hamlets.

In the hill country and high plains of the South, as well as in the North German 'flats,' there were large compact villages. In Westphalia there were peasant tenements, manor houses, and villages side by side with one another. The peasants of Pomerania and Lower Bavaria lived on widely extended lands, those of the Rhine on small holdings in larger villages, those of the western forest-lands in groups of small villages and hamlets.

All these villages, however, had one common characteristic which had come down from the old German agrarian system, *i.e.* the common rights of field and forest. Each village, in addition to its allotted or partitioned lands, had its unpartitioned or 'commonable' land (*Gemeine Mark*), called variously *Allgemeine*, *Allmeine*, or *Almende*, and consisting of woods, pasture, meadows, heath, moor, and so forth; and from this undivided *Markgemeinschaft* (community of land) in which all the residents shared, the inhabitants of the village were themselves called a *Gemeine*, or *Gemeinde* (community). Every resident in the village (not only the freemen but also the serfs) was included in this 'community'; but it was an essential condition of residentship to possess 'one's own smoke,' 'one's own hearth,' 'one's own meat and bread'—that is, to have a separate, independent household. For such residents, even in villages owned by a landlord, the *Almende* was a real, joint possession. Sometimes, however, the serfs had to pay a small tax for their share in the common *Mark*. For instance, in Hornau

and Kelchheim, in the Taunus district, the serfs, according to a chronicle of 1482, had to pay 'a Lent fowl and three farthings'; in the villages belonging to the Abbey of Lindau the tax was also 'a Lent fowl'; and in Winningen on the Moselle 'a moderate gift of wine,' according to the vintage. In many districts, however, they were allowed, without taxation, to 'use their *Almende* for the supply of their needs'; they had water, pasture, game, 'the fish off the sand, the game off the land, in need and necessity' for their nourishment. But they were forbidden to sell anything off the *Almende*; and the landlords also were not allowed, without the consent of their subjects, to sell or remove anything, not even to cut down wood and take it away from the village *Mark*. Thus every member of a village, whether it belonged to a secular or to an ecclesiastical landlord, had not only a practically hereditary (at any rate an untaxed) possession in the portion of land allotted to him, but he was also co-possessor of the Common Lands.[1]

In the fifteenth century the privileges of the members of these communal villages consisted in 'acorning' (*i.e.* sending their animals into the forest to eat acorns), and in pasture and wood rights. Regular days were assigned for the cutting and carrying of wood, when each householder, under the direction of an overseer, took what he required for building and burning, for fencing, for his vineyard, and for any other purposes. As the live stock formed a very important feature of the farmer's possessions, great care was bestowed upon the pasturage. In most cases the number of cattle

[1] This made the robbery of Church property in the sixteenth century also a robbery of the poor, who lost their benefits from the *Almende*.

to be owned by each farmer was explicitly settled by law.

All inhabitants of the communal villages who did not enjoy full membership—such as artisans—were accorded certain privileges. They were allowed to graze a goat, a pig, or a cow on the common land. The very poor received as alms either the produce of a fruit tree or the right to cultivate a small garden within the district for a longer or shorter period: sometimes also land to build on. In many confederate villages wood for building and for firing was given to this latter class. In certain places a woman at childbirth, whether she belonged to the community or not, was allowed a certain amount of firewood, which was doubled if the child was a boy.

Such allowances were called 'friendly offerings to those who stand in need of our assistance,' and to a certain extent they were bestowed on travellers also. Entries like the following are frequently to be met with in the 'Chronicles': 'If a stranger wishes to fish he can throw his line in our brooks'; 'any traveller may eat all the grapes he wishes, but he must not put any in his sack. The watchman shall not charge him for what he has taken, but invite him to proceed further, and put him on the right way'; 'a stranger riding through the fields may take as much grain as he can hold in his hand on a gallop'; 'a carrier passing the field may take three sheaves.' Even the beasts of burden belonging to strangers were cared for. 'Should a stranger travelling with his goods and beasts be surprised by the darkness, his horses must be unyoked and taken care of through the night by the community.' In case of accident the traveller might take

whatever wood was necessary for the repairing of his waggon.

As the fields and forests belonging to the community were considered 'sacred and inviolable,' the periodical inspection and determining of possessions and boundaries was regarded by the whole community as an occasion of deep importance. The processions were accompanied by flags, drums, and fifes, and assumed something of a religious character. On the boundaries of the district altars were erected, the Gospel was sung, and the pastor invoked a blessing on the land. In the seignorial or manor districts the agents of the lord joined in the procession. The possessions of private individuals, whether fields, woods, gardens, or vineyards, were marked out and generally enclosed by hedges, which it was a legal offence to injure. The lands belonging to the community were always surrounded by a hedge, a ditch, or a simple wall.

The methods of house-building among the peasants varied under the different reigns and with the various races. The houses of the Franconians were built with the dwelling, stable, barn, and sheds all in an enclosed square, so that the owner could easily go from one to the other without setting foot outside his own walls. The houses of the Suabian peasants consisted of two stories; the stable was on the ground floor, and the sheds were under the same roof. In the Saxon peasant house the hearth was built in the middle, and the peasant's wife from her seat behind it could keep an eye on the whole establishment at once—children, servants, horses and cows, garret, cellar, and dwelling-rooms. The seat by the hearth was the best in the house. The fire was kept burning on the hearth all day long, and

smouldered on through the night, only being put out, according to old custom, at the death of the head of the house.[1]

The very walls gave evidence of the deep devotion of the peasant to his home; the frescoed ploughshare, sickle, sheaf, or the vine-hoe, told how proud the owner was of his work. 'The Book of Fruits' says: 'The true peasant has no greater blessing than his house and wife and children. He loves his work and holds his calling in high esteem, for God Himself instituted it in Paradise.' A popular song ran thus:

'The knight said, "I am born of a noble race." The peasant spoke: "I cultivate the corn; that is the better part. Did I not work you could not exist on your heraldry," &c.'

The tiller of the soil played an important part in the communal organisation which regulated the duties and rights of each member. Each associate was called upon to assist in maintaining order and justice. In all things appertaining to the interests of the village he had a vote. In all discussions and quarrels the maxim was: 'All for one, one for all.'

The strong fraternal bond of common interests was the foundation of this communal life, so greatly prized by the peasants.

The mayor, the superintendent, and the district judge were elected by the vote of the people, and had jurisdiction not only over the profits of the commune, but also over the leased possessions. At the close of the fifteenth century the Saxon maxim, 'What the mayor, with the approval of the majority, decides for

[1] These customs still exist among the well-to-do peasants of Schleswick and of Oldenburg (Rhiel, *Familie*, p. 213).

the benefit of the village, must not be opposed by the minority,' still had weight.

The method of farming was naturally determined by the character of the soil, but the system of succession of crops generally prevailed throughout the confederate villages. The field was planted the first year with winter crops, the second with summer corn, and the third it was allowed to lie fallow, in order that the soil might recover from the exhaustion occasioned by production. In the fifteenth century cultivators began to utilise the fallow ground by planting what they called 'fallow crops,' consisting generally of vetches and peas. All over Upper Germany as far as the Lower Rhine we find, close to the regularly farmed fields, *Bündenbau*, which were fields of the best soil never permitted to lie fallow, but devoted to the raising of vegetables, flax and hemp. Grazing prevailed in Southern Germany and along the coast, and here the fields were sown alternate years with grass and wheat.

The agricultural management of each confederate village or district was settled by the parish, as were also the succession of crops, the fallow year, the raising of stock, the irrigating of meadows, the forestry, &c. No profit might be made, no straw, hay, or other fodder, or raw material might be exported, and no manufacture carried on without the permission of the parish authorities.

Agricultural science and forestry made decided progress at the close of the Middle Ages; and we find special attention paid to regulations for thinning, which had hitherto been done in such a manner as to leave large tracts in the forest bare. For instance, a law was made in Ober-Winterthur, in 1472, that 'It shall be

decided each year what trees can be cut down without injury.' Of still later date we find laws for the cutting down of trees in the Rhenish communal forests. Great care was bestowed on replacing the trees which had been cut down by others whose wood was best suited to the requirements of the age. Oak and beech trees, for instance, were specially cultivated when pigs formed an important item of farm profit. The cultivation of trees in the sixteenth century left little for modern times to improve: the acorns were planted, and then the saplings transplanted and surrounded by hedges. In order to give an idea of the extent to which the pork trade was carried on in the fifteenth century we will cite only one fact. In 1473 thirty-five thousand pigs belonging to the tenants of the bishopric of Spires, and eight thousand from the Palatine possessions, besides many others belonging to those having forest rights, were sent to eat acorns in the wood of Lusshart, between Bruchsal and Philipsburg.

Dating from the middle of the fifteenth century there are innumerable forest laws, but as they emanated from the princes and lords of the soil, and favoured the cruel amusement of the chase, they were largely to blame for the Peasant Wars.

A report of the regulations drawn up by a Rhinelander, Nicholas Engelman, head-steward from 1495 to 1516 for the demesne of Erfurt, which belonged to the estate of the archbishopric of Mayence, gives us a very vivid idea of the peasant life of the time.

This property in and around Erfurt consisted of several parcels of land containing fields, gardens, pastures and vineyards, besides forests of willows, alders and evergreens, covering in all six hundred and sixty

acres. There were also several mills and houses in the surrounding villages which paid rent or service to the estate. During his stewardship Engelman renewed all the registers, cleared up the intricacies of the laws affecting the different classes of tenants, established well-defined water-right laws, and, finally, completed the above-mentioned report, which is an exhaustive account of the management of the demesne. The regulations with regard to field, forest, and vineyard show an advanced state of agricultural science. This work of Engelman is a memorial for the close of the Middle Ages in some respects similar to the Agricultural Capitulary of Charlemagne for the beginning of that period.

At the head of those responsible for the management of the estate stood the 'kitchen steward,' who was entrusted with the care of the house expenses and the general supervision of the farm work. Next to him came the porter, who was an expert, and decided questions about the farming; then followed the kitchen steward's secretary, who kept an account of the harvest; and the forester, who, besides the management of the woods, supervised the field works of the day-labourer and of the so-called 'Fiöne,' who had to give a specified number of days of labour to the landlord. The administration also employed a messenger, a salt inspector, a bridge toll-taker with three assistants, and two bailiffs. We also find mention of a head-forester and his assistant, an agriculturist and assistant, two meadow-masters, three vineyard-masters, a cook, a scullion, a baker, a miller, with their assistants, the house-waiter, cheese-maker, the dairymaid, a cowherd, and also a cooper, a fisherman, and a brewer. The duties of each are explicitly set forth. In this long list of servants we find

only two women mentioned, so that what we now consider woman's work must have been done by men. All knew how to read and write. The manor-house, which stood in the town, contained the chief house and chapel, a second house, the wardrobe, the granary, the stable, two cowhouses, a barn, a shed, servants' quarters, a prison, a bakery, a brewhouse, and a bath-house.

The principal superintendent lived in the chief house, where, according to the simple style of living of the age, he appropriated only two rooms, the chief luxury of which consisted in glazed windows, doors that shut, and good floors; with him lived the secretary and keeper of seals. In the second house were rooms for visitors and the eating-room of the accountant.

Of all the buildings, the most important was the granary, where the threshed corn, wheat, barley, rye, oats, vetches, rapeseed and hops lay. Three times a year the head-baker was obliged to turn over the corn, and once a year to winnow it, in order to prevent the ravages of the corn worm. With the assistance of the porter, the forester, the agriculturist, and an expert thresher he selected the grain best fitted for seed, for malting, or for grinding, and in season gave out the proper quantity to be sown, keeping exact tally on two sticks of how much was delivered daily. One of the sticks was retained by the agriculturist, while the other was placed in the seed bin. The same formality was observed with regard to the grain for bread or for stock feeding, and for malting. The double-stick tally was brought into requisition in the latter case also, and a close watch kept on the miller.

The same care and exactness were observed in the kitchen, stables, and storehouses, and as the inventories

are still extant we can form a good idea of the implements used.

In summer the cattle were put out to graze, and the herdsmen were instructed to 'use much vigilance' in preventing their doing any injury to the crops. The milch cows were driven at midday to the manor to be milked; the cheese-woman (*die Käsemutter*) saw that the dairymaid fed and milked them well, that she took the milk to the cellar and put it in pans. In winter the cattle were housed; the herdsmen gave them fodder and straw to sleep on, helped the maid to remove the manure, and saw that the animals were not hurt in their stalls. Besides the butter that was sent in to the kitchen, much was salted down in tubs.

The land was worked on the 'three-year-succession' system—that is, fallow, seeding, and rolling. Owing to the winter housing of the cattle there was always an abundance of manure. At reaping and harvest time the peasants were obliged to assist—as day-labourers working by contract. Wheat and rye were cut with the sickle, but barley, oats, and lentils were chopped down. The grain was left in the field long enough to allow the weeds bound with the sheaves to die, when it was borne in a waggon into the barnyard.

Particular care was bestowed on the meadows in those days, when clover was not yet grown. In spring the meadow-master passed over the fields with his hoe and rake in order to level the molehills; he was required to be very careful when the grass was sprouting, so as to prevent any damage to the crop. The hedges which surrounded the meadows were trimmed yearly. The harvesters were hired. If the hay became damp the service tenants were obliged to spread it out, rake it

together, and put it in the stacks. It was the duty of the haymaster to see that this was all done, and that the meadow was raked clean.

As to forest culture, which was so important an item, the woodcutting was regulated according to different rules. In felling the willow only half the tree was cut down, in order that what was left might sprout anew and be fit for the 'six-year' cutting. In cutting firewood, the parts of the tree destined for hop poles, vine stakes, cuttings and hedges, were laid in separate piles. The cuttings were placed in water until about to be planted. Beechwood was also felled after a set plan, the cutting taking place only after the expiration of a certain time. To each woodcutter a certain task was assigned, and it was the duty of the forester to see that his work was done with a sharp axe, that the branches were not lopped off, that the wood was laid in bundles of twenty sticks, and that these were correctly counted. In order to insure the increase of wood, each cutter was obliged to leave a certain quantity of his assigned share uncut. At the close of the day's work each woodcutter could take home a bundle of brushwood, and in winter he carried a load. Each year the ditches through the woods and along the roads were repaired for the preservation of the neighbouring property.

The vineyards extended over seventy acres, and the manner in which, according to the report, the vines were tended showed marked skill and enterprise. The day-labourers for this work were hired according to contract, just as in the haymaking and harvest seasons. Before the time of vintage the cellarer had to see that the casks, tubs, buckets, troughs, dippers, and measures

were in order. The grape gatherers, carriers, and treaders were closely watched by the forester and clerk: 'they must gather, carry, and press industriously.' After the vintage the cellarer delivered to the head-steward the quantity gathered, sold the husks by the tub, carefully watched the fermentation, racked off the wine, sold the dregs to the distillers, and separated the muddy wine, which was used in the cooking of fish or to make vinegar.

In good years the wine over and above that which was carried to the manor was sold by retail to the citizens. These sales were often occasions of great excitement. The buyers, all impatient to be served at once, grew very noisy; the attendants were enjoined to prevent any cheating and to preserve order.

The cellarer paid particular attention to the wine which was intended for domestic use, racking it off at the proper time and pouring it into hogsheads. Each time a stoop of wine was drawn or a hogshead emptied he cut a notch in his stick. At the close of the year the quantity of wine in stock was compared with the tally, and the result with the amount of wine used in the preceding year.

The brewhouse also was under the supervision of the cellarer, who saw to the watering, fermenting, and drying of the malt. He carried it to the mill, took from the granary the correct quantity of hops, hired his own assistant, and watched over the brewing. He took care of the beer when made, and served it in large jugs at table.

The kitchen and cellar were beautifully kept; all the servants, both the 'Fiönen' and hired labourers, ate at the manor-house; food was lavishly provided, but the

regular servants were directed to watch that the labourers did not take away what was left or give it to outsiders. One of the duties of the manor-house was to provide for the support of a large number of poor labourers. Hence it was not without reason that the chief steward was called 'the kitchen-master.' Oxen, sheep, calves, and swine were killed at the manor; ham, bacon, and sausage prepared, meat salted and smoked there; and the kitchen-master was directed to 'see that the cook and clerk acquit themselves properly of their task, to see himself that the oxen and swine be killed at the proper time and put in salt, hung up and dried. He must take care that the fresh meat to be used during the year be cleanly and healthfully prepared, that each person have his share, that what is left be carefully put away and utilised, and that the cook serve the master and servants well, cleanly, and healthily, and that each person have enough.'

The bath-house was looked upon as one of the necessaries of life. The house servant was directed 'to carry wood when desired and to put water in the kettle and baths.' The cheese-maker and kitchen-maid must then 'make a lye, warm the rooms, and wash the benches, stools, and floors clean.' The house-waiter 'shall sweep and clean the rooms and heat them, he shall wash the hand basins and jars.'

This report of Engelman gives us an insight not only into the domestic economy of the period, but also into the Christian discipline which regulated the manners. At the Erfurt manor-house authority was strictly maintained, but kindness and amiability pervaded the whole household. The chief steward was advised to avoid everything which could lead to strife with neighbours;

he was to keep on friendly terms with the mayor of Erfurt. Every individual belonging to the estates, each citizen of the town, and any others who might apply to him, were to be kindly received by him, and given whatever advice and assistance they required. All the olden-time usages for the help of the poor were put in practice. For instance, although those who put the wine in the cellar were, by the conditions of their leases, bound to do it gratuitously, they nevertheless received annually from 60 to 120 pennies as wages. The cooper, too, was paid, although he owed his services to the estate. If anyone, through ignorance, failed to pay the tax, half or all the penalty was remitted. The manor tenants could sell some fields to outsiders, but on condition that the buyer should give five shillings additional towards the peasants' fund. If the purchaser refused this five-shilling tax his crops could be levied on, and if he did not heed this warning they were seized. But persuasion was first tried, because 'levying and seizing cause much annoyance, and are apt to lead to strife.' A fine of five shillings was imposed on every proprietor who did not walk in the Rogation procession. His sons, too, were required to join, so that they 'should know the size of the fields and their situation.'

The rights of authority were strictly maintained at the Erfurt manor. Everyone had to promise obedience to the head-steward in all things honourable and important, to avoid anything which might injure his Electoral Highness—in a word, to fulfil all the duties of faithful servants. It was forbidden for one servant to abuse another servant, but when there was cause of complaint it must be made to the steward and settled according to his advice. The kitchen-master must not

allow any of the servants to pass the night away from the manor without his permission. He was not allowed, however, to inflict immediate punishment, but to give the offender one or two warnings. Only offences against honour were punished without indulgence. Any servant who had stolen, abused the freedom of the manor, or committed a grave offence, was paid his wages and turned away, having first sworn not to revenge himself.

Above all, the kitchen-master was enjoined to set a good example, and to begin his daily duties by visiting the chapel. The written regulations read as follows: 'The kitchen-master must go to church early every day, hear Mass, and say aloud before the people five Paters and Aves in honour of the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, thanking Him for His sacred Passion, begging Him to forgive him all his sins, to show him mercy, to preserve him from sin, and to grant him grace to do His holy will'; he must also 'take care of all committed to him, and serve his master faithfully and well.' He shall also reverence the Mother of God, say a prayer in honour of her nativity, and beg her to intercede with her beloved Son for him.

The strict observance of religious duties by the servants was strenuously insisted upon. We find in a domestic law book at Königsbrück, near Selz: 'Each servant shall hear the entire Mass and sermon every Sunday and holy day, and not leave the church before it is ended. Whoever, without permission, shall not hear the Mass and sermon shall be deprived of meat at lunch, or be fined five shillings.' Again, 'So often as the servants sit down to eat, the steward shall remind them, by knocking on the table, to pray, and whoever

shall laugh or refuse to pray after this shall be fined a *Batzen*.' Then, 'When the Angelus is rung the steward shall call the servants to prayer, and whoever disobeys shall be punished in like manner.' The cup-bearer Erasmus of Erbach made a similar law in 1483 for his property at Odenwald: 'All the servants must be taught that praying and working go together. They must pray together at table before and after eating, and at the sound of the Angelus when it rings; for this they shall stop their work, and not excuse themselves on the score that they have too much to do. They shall attend Mass and sermon on Sundays and holy days, and be careful not to disturb others by their merriment. Whoever disobeys this injunction often shall be discharged at the close of the year and sent away from the manor. The steward and overseer shall be particular to set a good example, and the steward, at least, shall begin his day by hearing Mass.'

The landed property of the cities was a very important matter in the Middle Ages. In the interest of their towns and the development of their resources the municipal bodies were always anxious to acquire property, particularly forest land. Between 1463 and 1492 the municipality of Görlitz bought up the landed property of a reduced noble family. The municipality of Grossglockau did the same with regard to several estates of nobles and the forests appertaining thereto. Through purchase, mortgage, and sometimes conquest, many towns became possessed of valuable landed estates. The landed property of Rothenburg, a little town in Franconia of only six thousand inhabitants, covered an area of more than six and a half square miles, with a population of about fifteen thousand.

The landed estate of Ulm comprised not less than fifteen, and that of Nuremberg twenty, square miles.

These city estates were generally managed by free farmers; the number of manor tenants was relatively small.

The cities themselves were not exclusively commercial centres; agricultural interests formed also a part of their riches. Like the confederate villages, they also had their communal districts of plain, pasture, and forest, the limits of which were marked by various signs, crosses, holy pictures, and trees, and an inspection of those boundaries took place yearly.[1] Every confederated citizen of a commune had, over and above his own separate possessions, a share in the general privileges of forest, pasture, and fishing. In Frankfort-on-the-Main, besides this general pasture and forest privilege, each citizen had a right to let his stock in on the private fields which, according to a law of 1504, were left fallow every third year. Certain laws in cities were enacted to regulate the cultivation of the fields, the manner of ploughing and letting the ground rest, also the management of the vineyards and forests. These laws related not only to the district, but to the individual divisions of the commune as well.

Besides those inhabitants of cities who also possessed farms, several monasteries, institutions, nobles, and country proprietors kept large yards in the towns, from which they could the more conveniently dispose of their productions and carry on the management of their affairs. Even the burgher always kept cows or

[1] See Maurer, *Städteverfassung*, ii. 162-171, 802-803, and iii. 181. In Westphalia we find several very elegant city houses (in Beckum, for instance) still retaining the semi-rural surroundings of former times.

swine, for he was considered very shiftless who 'must always buy his own meat and milk.' Even in large commercial towns there could be found cattle, swine, and sheep. In 1481 Frankfort-on-the-Main had to pass a law forbidding pigsties to be placed on the side of the house fronting the street. Sheep-breeding was conducted on such a scale among the Teutonic knights in Sachsenhausen that the chief master had to bind himself by contract that not more than a thousand sheep should be confined in any one yard in the vicinity of a city, on account of the injury which such large flocks did to the vegetation.

Hens, geese, ducks, and pigeons were propagated in such numbers in Frankfort-on-the-Main that the municipality appointed a committee called 'the pigeon knights.' At Ulm it was found necessary to forbid by law any citizen keeping more than twenty-four swine. The citizens used to send their well-fed stock out to graze by day, and bring them back at night. The poor might turn their cows loose when it did no injury. It was only in 1475 that Nuremberg passed an ordinance forbidding the running of pigs in the street. At Lübeck, Bremen, Magdeburg, Spires, and Worms, farming and cattle-breeding formed an important item of profit during the early ages; in Munich agriculture was one of the principal resources of the citizens. In Basle, Bibrach, Frankfort, Landau, Reutlingen, Spires, Ulm, Worms, and other cities, the agriculturists, as well as the vine-growers and gardeners, formed a special guild.

Agriculture was so popular a pursuit, even in the towns, that it has been asserted that, considering the difference of population, a larger proportion followed

that avocation in the Middle Ages than in our time. As a consequence vegetables and animal food were more plentiful, and generally speaking cheaper, and consequently more generally eaten by the poorer classes, than is the case in Europe to-day.[1] It must be remembered, however, that as the cities, notwithstanding their great prosperity, did not suffer from being over-populated,[2] the prices for the things necessary for subsistence were low; those for luxuries, on the contrary, were very high. The flax and hemp industry was considerable in many places; in Ulm, for instance, at the close of the fifteenth century, as many as sixty thousand pieces of linen or cotton were bleached yearly. It was asserted that Germany produced more linen than all the rest of the world.[3]

Near the larger cities garden culture developed in

[1] According to Klöden, in Hildebrand's *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie*, i. 218, in the commencement of the fourteenth century not less than 30,854 head of cattle were slaughtered for the consumption of from six to twelve thousand inhabitants per year; more than twelve times as many as in 1802–1803. Conrad Celtes asserts that in Nuremberg 100 head of cattle were slaughtered each week, besides large quantities of pork, mutton, and poultry. Schmoller, *Fleischconsum.* p. 291; Kriegk, *Bürgerthum*, p. 382; Mascher, *Deutsches Gewerbewesen*, p. 280.

[2] From statistics we find that the average population of Strasburg in the fourteenth century was 50,000. Constance never had a population of more than 10,000. (Schmoller, *Fleischconsum.* p. 296; Schanz, *Gesellenverband*, p. 8.) The population of Nuremberg increased very much in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The number of births in 1482 was 2,300, or at the rate of six per day. (*Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, x. 370.) Froissard estimates the population of Rheingau in 1497 at 30,000. Some passages in Mone's letters from Hanover would imply that the villages were not as thickly populated in the Middle Ages as now, but we must remember that the number of villages was greater, so many were destroyed during the Wars of the Peasants and the Thirty Years' War. See Landau, *Wüste Ortschaften*, pp. 382, 386, 390.

[3] German linen was imported into almost every country of Europe. The greater number of the inhabitants of Silesia were weavers or spinners. See Hildebrand's *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie*, VII. ii. 215–230.

proportion to the general prosperity. There was so much saffron grown in the gardens around Altenburg in the year 1500 that it brought in several thousand thalers to the town. At and around Erfurt pastel,[1] saffron, aniseed, coriander, and vegetables were largely cultivated. The cultivation was so remunerative that in good years the profits from it amounted in the neighbourhood of Erfurt to more than one hundred thalers.[2]

The inhabitants of Erfurt had a high reputation as skilled gardeners. Next to Erfurt, Mayence, Würzburg, and Bamberg were distinguished for horticulture. Frankfort-on-the-Main, Nuremberg and Augsburg were remarkable for their flower gardens, where the marsh-mallow, the primrose, the hyacinth, and the auricula were to be seen in every variety of shade and colour.

The author of the 'Book of Fruits, Trees, and Roots' enlarges on the beauty of the German gardens, not only of those belonging to the wealthy, but also of the smaller and humbler ones, particularly in the Rhenish provinces.

The poets also sing of the lovely blossoms of the almond trees. Sebastian Münster says in his Geography: 'Between Spires and the western mountains there were almond trees enough to supply the whole of Germany. The country round the little town of Deidesheim is like one field of almond trees.' Eysengrein in his Chronicles writes: 'The excellent wine made in the Spires district is exported to Switzerland, Suabia, Bavaria,

[1] Pastel was then used instead of indigo.

[2] See Langethal, iii. 121–122. Nuremberg was also famous for its nursery gardens. (Celtes, *De Orig. Norimb.* p. 2.) In the year 1505 Maximilian sent gardeners to take lessons in the nurseries of Nuremberg.

Lorraine, and to Southern Germany, sometimes even to England.'

In the latter part of the Middle Ages the vine was the object of very special attention. It grew in places in which it is at present unknown. In Erfurt sixty thousand pailfuls of wine used to be produced in good years. In Hesse the vine was cultivated with such success by the monasteries, the nobles, the citizens, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order at Marburg, and even by the peasants, that the wine equalled that of the Rhine and of Burgundy. Fulda, Marburg, Witzenhaufen, and Cassel were the centres of the vine culture, and were completely surrounded by vineyards and vine villages. In the province of Brandenburg many vineyards were to be found around the cities of Rathenow, Brandenburg, Cologne-on-the-Spree, Oderburg, Guben, Lübben, and other places. In Mecklenburg, besides the principal vineyards of Schwerin and Plauen, there were in 1508 many vineyards in full bearing which extended as far as Lübeck.

Owing to the universal use of wine in the fifteenth century the vine was much more generally cultivated than in our times. Indeed, the vineyards occupied so much of the land around Frankfort-on-the-Main that the municipality, in the interest of horticulture, forbade in 1501 any increase in the number of them. Between the years 1472 and 1500 the grape crop in the city possessions averaged seven hundred and thirty-two vats. It is easy to believe, then, that at the patrician weddings as much as a whole vat of wine was drunk, and that at the marriage of the patrician Arnold von Glauberg, in the year 1515, as much as six hogsheads were drunk. In the district of Kelheim, on the left

bank of the Danube, vineyard after vineyard was to be seen on slopes that are now totally unproductive. In 1509 the city of Ratisbon possessed inside and outside of its walls forty-two vineyards. The red wine of Bavaria found a ready sale, not only at home, but abroad. Wine instead of beer was the general drink in those days in Bavaria: 'the day-labourer,' says the 'Book of Fruit and Grain,' 'always drank wine twice a day, as he ate meat twice a day.' The vine grew abundantly in the Bavarian palatinate. At Ulm three hundred waggon-loads of grapes often were sold on one market day. In Vienna the grape gathering lasted forty days, and two or three times daily nine hundred waggons entered the city laden with vessels of grape juice (*must*). But the vineyards *par excellence* of Germany were on the Upper Rhine, and the wines most prized were those made in the Upper Rhenish province. The Benedictine Monastery of Johannesberg and that of the Cistercians at Eberbach were famous for the perfection of their wines.

Bee culture also flourished throughout Germany, but towards the middle of the sixteenth century it was almost entirely abandoned.[1]

In the last decades of the fifteenth century an agricultural literature began to be formed, and the many editions into which these works ran are proof of the interest taken in the question, particularly by the people of the cities. Eleven different editions in Latin and German of the Bolognese senator Petrus of Cre-

[1] Bee culture was of much greater importance then than now because of the quantity of wax used in the churches, and because honey was used where we now use sugar. (*Abhandlung über Bienenrecht des Mittelalters*, p. 47, Nordlingen, 1865. See also Busch, *Handbuch des geltenden Bienenrechts*, p. 14.)

centus's famous work on agriculture appeared between the years 1470 and 1494 in Louvain, Augsburg, Strasburg, Mayence, and elsewhere; those brought out in Strasburg and Mayence were beautifully illustrated by wood-engravings. 'The Book of Nature,' for which a very learned man collected material during fifteen years, had also an extensive sale. The first edition bears no date or place of publication; the following ones appeared in 1475, 1478, and 1481, and were published by Hans Bamler of Augsburg; still later ones by Hans Schonperger in 1482 and by Antonius in 1499. The book comprises curious essays on human nature, animals, trees, vegetables, stones, and metals, and the object which the writer sets before him is 'the treatment of very useful and interesting subjects, of which the reader may learn some useful facts.' However, besides some rather wondrous things, it contains also valuable information on the subjects of forestry and bee culture.

A Westphalian publisher in Louvain brought out Columella's work on gardening, and Cuspanian added a preface to the second edition in 1483, entitled 'The Virtue of Plants.' By far the most important agricultural work was the already mentioned 'Book of Fruits, Trees, and Roots,' which appeared in Mayence in 1498. It describes, among other things, the different kinds of grain and how it should be treated in different soils, the best season to sow it, what kind of manure, &c.; it teaches the best way to plant and propagate trees, and shows a predilection for fruit trees and vines. The latter were always favoured by the Germans, 'because the vine is so valuable, and is so much praised in the Holy Scriptures.' The author adds, jestingly, 'In

Germany wine drinking is practised by all pious, Bible-loving people.' There are extant reports on the state of agricultural science at the close of the Middle Ages by contemporary authority, coming from two widely different sections, the Rhine provinces and Pomerania.

'On German soil,' says the 'Book of Fruits, Trees, and Vegetables,' 'there is no more beautiful or productive land than the Rhine province; one finds there such an abundance of wine that even the poor man may satisfy his thirst; wheat, rye, barley, and fruit of all kinds grow there in plenty. The country between Bingen and Mayence is thickly populated on both sides of the river; farm touches farm and village succeeds village, and the land shows what can be produced by a good soil and the industry of man. In this district poverty is seldom to be found among those who are willing to work. Bee culture also flourishes there.'

The Englishman Brother Bartolomæus of the Minorite order writes as follows: 'The Rhine province is a narrow stretch of country extending along the banks of the Rhine between the mountains from Bingen to Mayence. The territory is small, but remarkably productive from the river to the tops of the hills. So beautiful is it that not only its own inhabitants, but travellers also, look on it as an enchanted land. The soil is so fruitful and rich that everything grows with remarkable luxuriance and ripens quickly. The same farm grows a very great variety of fruits and cereals, not to mention the vine.'

In 1500 Johannes Butzbach writes in his 'Wanderbüchlein': 'The Rhine province is a blessed land, rich in wine, fruit, cereals, wood, and water; its beautiful villages resemble cities; the stately Rhine runs through

it, rich in islands containing broad plains. The inhabitants are brave and prosperous. The fruit gardens are most valuable. I knew one poor man who realised in one year thirty florins from the cherries which he sold in Mayence.'

The culture of fruit was most successfully carried on in the Rhine province and in Bavaria. The 'Book of Fruits, Trees, and Vegetables' speaks of entire groves of fruit trees surrounding the villages of the Rhine province, 'and,' writes the author, 'they are well and most intelligently cultivated; so also in Bavaria. I noticed the beauty of the fruit trees and the care which was given to them. For a small sum the poor man can lay in apples, pears, and nuts sufficient for himself, his wife, and children during the winter time. This industrious thrift is very praiseworthy and ought to be imitated.' The variety of apples differing from each other in form, colour, and taste is indescribable.

Kantzow, writing of Pomerania, says: 'This land produces more than twenty times more corn, rye, wheat, barley, oats, peas, buckwheat, and hops than the people can use, so that a large quantity of rye and barley was exported to Scotland, Holland, and Brabant, and much hops and barley to Norway and Sweden. Many a burgher shipped yearly 10,000 bushels of corn. They raise a great many horses of different breeds, cattle, sheep, swine, and bees, which they also export. The grass lands are very extensive. Honey, bacon, butter, wool, leather, and lard were exported with much profit. Woodcock, partridges, rabbits, swans, bustards, wild geese, and ducks were in profusion, but owing to the game laws they could be used only as much as the princes and nobles allowed. As

for the other game, whoever wished hunted it. Fishing was excellent.' [1]

The great agricultural prosperity which prevailed in most parts of Germany placed the peasantry of the Middle Ages in a position with which their condition in later times forms a sad contrast.

Kantzow writes: 'In Pomerania the peasants are rich; their wearing apparel is mostly of English or other costly material, such as the nobility and citizens in easy circumstances wore in former times.'

The peasants of Altenburg were so well off that they wore caps of bearskin, coral necklaces, to which were hung pieces of gold, and silk ribbons, which were then very expensive.

Rolewinck puts the following words in the mouth of the nobility: 'There is more lent out now to one peasant than to ten of us, and he invests it as he pleases.'

The appearance of the peasants who in 1476 flocked in thousands to hear the new prophet of the people, popularly called 'the trumpet of Niklashausen,' gives some evidence of their comfortable condition at the close of the fifteenth century in Northern and Central Germany: they had abundance of money, and wore jewels and fine clothes. The chronicler Stolle tells us that in one day 70,000 people were collected in Niklashausen, most of them peasants. They brought wax candles so large that it required from three to four men to carry them. The zeal of this 'prophet' in

[1] Kantzow, ii. 421, 424, 427. In writing of the fertility of the soil in Sangerhausen, Spangenberg says in his Chronicle, ended in 1554, 'We write of the time before the poor were impoverished by intolerable taxes. They lived well because so much attention was paid to agriculture, cattle-breeding, fishing, game, and to the manufacture of beer and wine.' (Buder, *Nützliche Sammlung verschiedener Schriften*, p. 297. Frankfurt, 1735.)

denouncing vanity in dress and jewellery is evidence of the wealth of the peasantry.

Wimpheling writes of the Alsatian peasantry: 'The prosperity of the peasants here and in most parts of Germany has made them proud and luxurious. I know peasants who spend as much at the marriage of their sons and daughters or the baptism of their infants as would buy a small house and farm or vineyard. They are extravagant in their dress and living, and drink costly wines.'

The amounts spent at patronal festivals and at marriages give the same evidence as to the peasants of Franconia.

The Austrian chronicler Unrest says, in the year 1478, of the peasants of Carinthia that 'No one earns more money than they. It is generally acknowledged that they wear better clothes and drink better wine than the nobles.' [1]

It was not without reason that in 1497 ordinances were passed in Landau and other places forbidding 'the common peasant to wear cloth costing more than half a florin the yard, silk, velvet, pearls, gold, or slashed garments.' [2]

[1] Unrest, pp. 631–642. For evidences of the comfortable condition of the Austrian peasants, see Bucholtz, *Ferdinand der Erste*, pp. 8, 50, 53, 313, 316. The Austrian poet Helbling speaks of the wealth of the peasants, saying, 'In Austria the only free men are the peasants' (p. 421). For a description of the condition of the peasants in the Tyrol and Bohemia at the close of the fifteenth century, see *Gesch. des böhmischen Aufstandes von 1618*, i. 145–150.

[2] *Neue Sammlung der Reichsabschiede*, ii. pp. 47–49. Mascher, on page 279 of his *Urkunde aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, says: 'One seldom saw a labourer who did not wear a hat which cost more than half the rest of his clothing. There is no longer much difference in the dress of the noble, the citizen, and the peasant.' The excesses of the time in eating and drinking are often the subjects of song. Uhland, p. 1646.

Costly clothing bespoke costly living. We read in the 'Book of Fruits, Trees,' &c.: 'If the peasant work hard he has a good table, and eats flesh, fish, and fruits, and drinks good wine—sometimes too much. This last I do not praise, but in other things the peasant's table is of the healthiest.'

In 1500 the plain-spoken Suabian Henry Müller wrote: 'In the days of my father, who was himself a peasant, the peasants' fare was very different from what it is to-day. They had an abundance of meat every day; on festival and *Kermesse* (fair) days the table was loaded with all that was good. Wine was drunk like water; everyone ate and took away as much as he wished, so great was the prosperity that prevailed. It is otherwise now, for the times have long been bad; everything is dear, and the fare of the most comfortable peasant is far inferior to that which the day-labourer and servant used to have.'

Day-labourers and servants were better off at the close of the Middle Ages than the peasants. According to statistics, wages were never before so high, and the large number of people who had to live by hard labour were never, before or since, so well situated as during the period from the end of the fifteenth century through the first decade of the sixteenth.

In order to rightly estimate the wages of the day-labourer and servant in those times it is necessary to consider the cost at that time of the necessaries of life. We must begin by comparing the statistics of different countries at the same time, and if the facts collected coincide we may draw a just conception of the matter considered.

For Northern Germany let us first consider the

reports gathered in Saxony. From the years 1455 to 1480 the average price of a pair of common shoes was from two to three groschen; for a domestic fowl, half a groschen; for a pike, one groschen; for a sheep, four groschen; for twenty-five stock-fish, four groschen; for a cord of wood, delivered, five groschen; for a yard of best native cloth, five groschen; for a bushel of rye, six groschen. At the same date a day-labourer earned weekly from six to eight groschen, or, we might say, the price of a sheep and a pair of shoes; with the earnings of twenty-four days he could purchase at least one bushel of rye, twenty-five stock-fish, a cord of firewood, and two to three yards of cloth. Clothing was particularly cheap. We find a chorister in Leipsic paying seven groschen for the making of a coat, trousers, hat, and jacket. The Duke of Saxony wore a hat which cost three groschen and a half. They were good times for the Saxon labourer when wages were high and the price of necessaries low.

We can understand the complaints of the workmen in the middle of the sixteenth century when we consider that, while their wages were increased only six pennies the price of rye rose from six to twenty-four groschen per bushel, the price of a sheep from four to eighteen groschen, and so on with the other necessaries.

In Holstein a labourer of the fifteenth century could buy half a bushel of rye, three-quarters of a bushel of oats, or a bushel of turnips with one day's wages, a lamb fit to kill with three to four days' wages, while the earnings of twenty-two days would buy a fat cow. The wages were even higher in other localities.

In Cleves, on the Lower Rhine, a labourer who was fed in the house of his employer could with six days'

wages buy a quarter of a bushel of rye, ten pounds of pork or twelve of veal, six large jugs of milk, two bundles of wood, and have a weekly surplus over which in from four to five weeks would enable him to purchase a blouse, six yards of cloth, and a pair of shoes. It is known that in Aix-la-Chapelle, at the close of the fourteenth century, the wages of six days' labour would buy a lamb, seven sheep, and eight pigs, while one day's earnings would purchase two geese.

During the fifteenth century, at Augsburg, in average years, one could purchase from six to seven pounds of the best meat by one day's work; in poor years one pound of meat or seven eggs, a quart of peas, a measure of wine, and what bread he needed, and still retain the half of his wages to pay for clothing, lodging, and other necessaries.

In 1464 the labourers received eighteenpence per day in the principality of Beyreuth, while they could buy the best beef for twopence per pound and sausage for half the price.

The statistics from Austria are much the same; for instance, we find by the account books of Jacob Pamperl, who was manager of the Abbey of Klosternauberg from 1485 to 1509, that the wages of a day-labourer were ten farthings a day and his board, while the legal price of beef was two farthings per pound. The usual price of a pair of women's or men's shoes was sixteen farthings; the making of a pair of trousers cost ten farthings, and a peasant's coat cost twenty-four. In many countries where labourers worked for pay and board there were laws regulating the exact quantity of food and drink they had a right to. In the laws made by the Archbishop of Mayence, Berthold von Henne-

berg, in 1497, for the management of his possessions in the Rhine Provinces, we find: 'In the morning soup and bread; for lunch at midday a strong soup, good meat, vegetables, and half a jug of ordinary wine; in the evening a strong soup, or meat and bread.'

In 1483 the innkeeper Erasmus Erbach of Odenwald ordered that all the labourers, men and women, who work in the field shall each receive twice in the day meat and half a jug of wine; on Sundays they shall have fish or food equally nourishing. On feast-days and Sundays those who have worked during the week shall be well treated, having, after Mass and sermon, plenty of meat and bread with a large jug of wine. At weddings they shall have enough roast meat. Besides, they shall be given a large loaf of bread and as much meat as shall furnish lunches for two.

According to the household regulations of the Bavarian Count Joachim von Gettingen in 1520, the domestics were to have every day at meals: 'In the morning soup and vegetables (milk was allowed to the labourers); at midday one kind of meat, one vegetable, a pepper soup, preserves or milk; at night soup and meat, turnips, and preserve or pickle; milk, chicken or eggs, with soup and two portions of bread, shall be given to the women who desire it; if they have come over half a mile they shall have an additional plate of soup and a small jug of wine.'

The meals allowed in Saxony to the servants and workpeople were still better. In the household laws published by the Dukes Ernst and Albert in the year 1482 it was expressly decreed: 'The domestics and labourers ought to be satisfied with what they receive. Besides their wages they shall have, twice a day, for

dinner and supper, four dishes : soup, two kinds of meat, and one vegetable. On feast days five dishes : soup, two kinds of fish, and two vegetables.'

As an evidence of how general was the use of animal food, we quote from the 'Soul's Guide' in describing extreme destitution. 'There are poor people who go a week or more without meat, or, at best, with very bad meat.' The times had begun to get bad in 1533, when the Bavarian States' authority decreed that 'care be taken that the people eat meat each day, take two meals, and that the hotels serve good boils and roasts. In view of the general destitution all were advised to refrain from meat two or three days in the week, and innkeepers were admonished to give only fruit, bread and cheese outside of the regular meals.'

The decrease in the use of animal food in the sixteenth century was one of the most striking proofs of the depression of general prosperity throughout Germany. The wages were only half what they had been between 1450 and 1500.[1] Animal food, formerly the

[1] A similar condition of things existed in England, France, and Italy. The labouring classes were much better off at the close of the fifteenth century than they are to-day in any country in Europe. See Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques italiennes*, chap. xci.; for France *cf.* S. Luce, *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque* (Paris, 1876), chap. iii. 'Vie privée au 14^{me} siècle.' In speaking of the English labouring classes at the commencement of the fourteenth century Chancellor Fortescue says, 'They have abundant nourishment of both flesh and fish, and wear good woollen clothing. Their houses are well furnished and their tools are of the best.' Under Henry VIII. an Act of Parliament in the interest of the poor refers to four kinds of meat; but the laws dating from the reign of Elizabeth are proof of the miserable condition of the poor, and by them pauperism is officially recognised. See Hallam, *Europe during the Period of the Middle Ages*, Part II. ch. ix.; Cobbett's *History of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 471.

James C. Thorold Rogers, the most important modern English writer on political economy, says in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*,

ordinary diet of the people, became by degrees an article of luxury.

In the fifteenth century the wages for domestic service kept pace with those of the labourers. For instance, at the Castle of Dohna, in Saxony, the stableman received, besides board and lodgings, nine florins yearly; the donkey-driver seven florins and a half; the dairymaid three florins and twelve to eighteen groschen, and this at a time when a fat ox could be bought for three to four florins. In Dresden the wages of a cook were, besides board and lodging, seven florins and four groschen; of a kitchen-maid, two florins and ten groschen; of a swineherd, four florins. Thus the wages of the latter would purchase the finest ox or twenty sheep.

In Mosbach, in 1483, a dairymaid could earn thirteen florins thirty kreutzers a year, besides fifty-four kreutzers for her dress. In Constance a cart-driver earned yearly nineteen florins, with board and a pair of shoes, four yards of cloth and six of cotton.

Their fare was the same as that of the day-labourers, with whom they generally ate. From the domestic

vol. iv. p. 23 (Oxford, 1882): 'The fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth were the *Golden Age* of the English husbandman, the artisan, and the labourer.' At p. 100 he says: 'The fifteenth century was a period in which wealth was very generally distributed, for wages were relatively high, agricultural produce was cheap, and land was valued as a rule at twenty years' purchase.' Later, on the contrary: 'There is visible a great decline in the style of living. Before the Reformation wine was abundant, cheap, and freely used. Afterwards it became an occasional luxury. The enjoyments of the middle class were stinted, and even those of the more wealthy were few. It would be a long task to illustrate this in detail, but my reader will find, from the change in values, to be commented on hereafter in particular, that there was a great contrast between the plenty of the fifteenth and the scarcity of the sixteenth century' (pp. 137–138).

accounts still extant we learn that wine was as generally in use as meat. In hiring a cart-driver at Weinheim, in 1506, it is expressly agreed that 'No one, unless he wish to do so, is obliged to give wine.' Another notice to a maid reads, 'No wine is promised.' In the domestic regulations for Königsbrück it is written that 'Any servant being absent at meal-time shall have neither meat nor wine.' In Oppenheim and four neighbouring villages it was agreed that 'Each labourer in the summer should have not more than one measure of wine, and in spring and winter he should be satisfied with a half or three-quarters of a measure.' At Sieburg wine was looked upon as one of the simple necessaries of life. In 1425 the municipality decreed that wine should not be given to labourers. In the Rhenish Provinces fish was so commonly given that the maid-servants in Spires complained to the city council that they were so often obliged to eat Rhine salmon.

The decrease of wages and curtailment of privileges of servants dates from the sixteenth century; so also does forced domestic service, by which the tenants of the seigniors were compelled to allow their children to serve at the manor-house for very low remuneration.

From these statistics, gathered from different sources, it is evident that at the close of the Middle Ages the industrious labourer was enabled to provide well for his own wants, and, if he were married, to lay up what was called an independence for his family.

INDEX OF PLACES

Africa, 144
Alkmaar, 61
Alsatia, 71, 130, 174, 231, 292, 347
Altenburg (county), 346
Altenburg (town), 340
Alzey, 171, 316
Amberg, 251
Ambras (Ambrasian collection of MSS.) Castle, 155
America (New World), 143, 300
Amsterdam, 186
Andernach, 171
Antwerp, 202
Arabia, Arabs, 9 (*n.* 1), 14
Aragonia. *See* Spain.
Ascoli, 13
Asia, 128
Asmushausen, 173
Assisi, 168
Athens, 11
Augsburg (bishopric), 15, 38, 40, 149
Augsburg (Confession), 269
Augsburg (town), 12, 16, 19, 20, 38, 50 (*n.* 1), 51, 57 (and *n.* 1), 80, 106, 148 ff., 170 (*n.* 1), 188, 204, 211, 213, 218, 243, 283, 293, 303, 340, 343, 350
Austria, imperial hereditary lands, 85, 88, 159, 295, 303, 315, 347, 350

Baden-Baden, 171
Baflo, near Groningen, 65
Bayreuth, 29
Balingen, 39
Baltic Sea, 320
Bamberg (bishopric), 193, 260
Bamberg (Synod), 35
Bamberg (town), 16, 197, 248, 282, 303, 340
Barcelona, 14, 168
Basle (town), 12, 16, 20 f., 38, 57, 117 ff., 122, 171, 207, 236, 282, 338
Basle (university), 86, 89, 102, 122–126, 134, 173
Basle (Council), 16 (*n.* 1)
Basle (Diocesan Synod), 34 f.
Batalha, 168
Bavaria (Duchy), 88 f., 171, 231, 249, 321, 338, 342, 345, 351, 352
Bavaria (Kingdom), 293 f.
Bavaria (Old), 222, 309, 342
Beckum, 337 (*n.* 1)
Belem, 168
Berlin (town), 95, 170, 198 (*n.* 1)
Bern (town), 122 f., 166, 171, 189 250, 292
Bern (university), 123
Bethlehem, 301
Beverley, 168
Biberach, 338
Biebern (on the Hunsrück), 320
Bingen, 171, 344
Bischofsheim (in the administrative district of Cassel), 173
Blaubeuren, 16, 39
Blomberg, 171
Bocholt, 171, 222
Bohemia, 193, 262 (*n.* 1: Hussites), 347 (*n.* 1)
Bologna (town), 12 (*n.* 4), 211, 342
Bologna (university), 93, 103, 148
Bonn, 171
Borken, 171
Bottwar, 40
Brabant, 345
Brackenheim, 39 f.
Brandenburg (margraviate), 80, 94, 109, 341

Brandenburg (town), 170, 341
Breisgau, 231
Breitenau (in the administrative district of Cassel), 173
Bremen (town), 338
Breslau (bishopric), 39 (*n.* 1)
Breslau (Synod), 41
Breslau (town), 30 (*n.* 2), 170, 235, 248
Bristol, 168
Brixen (bishopric), 106, 156
Brou, 169
Bruch-Köbel, 174
Brucksal, 171, 327
Bruges, 200
Bruneck, 203
Brunswick (town), 193, 248
Buda-Pesth, 14
Bürgeln, 174
Bulgaria, 16 (*n.* 1)
Burgos, 14, 168
Burgundy (duchy), 250
Byzantium. *See* Constantinople.

Calcar (on the Lower Rhine), 171, 186 f.
Cambrai (town), 61
Camp (on the Lower Rhine), 105
Camrich. *See* Cambrai.
Canterbury, 20
Capellen, near Guelders, 28, 30
Carinthia, 295, 320, 347
Cassel (governmental circle), 174
Cassel (town), 60, 174, 341
Cathrinhagen, 174
Cettinje, 16 (*n.* 1)
China, 9 (*n.* 1)
Chur, 190
Clausen, near Treves, 171
Cleves (town), 171
Clus (monastery), 211
Coblentz, 82, 171
Coerfeld, 171
Cölln (on the Spree), 341
Colmar, 74, 103, 201, 203, 207, 222, 317
Cologne (archbishopric), 62
Cologne (town), 12, 14 (*n.* 1), 20, 51, 60 ff., 74, 96 f., 99, 103, 124, 166, 168, 171, 188, 194, 200 f., 203, 212, 214, 291, 294 f., 341
Cologne (university), 86, 90 (*n.* 2), 93, 95 ff.
Connefeld, 174
Constance (bishopric), 263
Constance (town), 38, 119, 171, 200, 250, 315 (*n.* 1)
Constantinople (Byzantium), 6
Constantinople (conquest of), 63
Copenhagen (town), 72
Copenhagen (university), 93
Corbach, 171
Cracow (town), 169, 197, 245
Cracow (university), 93
Cues (on the Mosel), 2, 171
Culm (in West Prussia), 61
Culmbach, 29

Dantzic, 82, 170 f., 194
Deidesheim, 340
Deventer, 5, 20 (*n.* 1), 23, 62, 68 f., 71 f., 96
Dohna (castle), 353
Dornstetten, 39
Dortmund (town), 171, 193
Dresden (district), 353
Dresden (town), 198 (*n.* 1)
Dürinckheim. *See* Türkheim.
Duisburg, 171

East Indies, 144
East Prussia, 313 (*n.* 1)
Eberbach in the Rheingau (monastery), 342
Ebersberg (monastery), 214
Eisenach, 286, 292
Eisleben, 214
Elten, 171
Eltville in the Rheingau, 29
Ely, 168
Emmerich on the Rhine, 68, 73, 171
England, 14 (*n.* 1), 20, 93, 97, 136, 147, 168 f., 189 (*n.* 1), 203, 288, 295, 341, 352 f.
Erbach in the Odenwald, 336, 351
Erfurt (town), 16, 193, 248, 251, 327, 334, 340, 341
Erfurt (university), 29, 82, 86, 91, 94 (*n.* 1), 101, 141
Erlangen, 137
Ermland (Synod). *See* Heilsberg.
Eschwege, 174
Essen, 171

Europe, 9 (*n.* 1), 10 (*n.* 1), 12, 18, 21, 74, 110, 118, 122, 128, 131, 139 ff., 143, 146, 160, 189, 203, 249, 352 (*n.* 1)
Everswinkel, 171
Exeter, 168

Falkenhagen, 211
Ferrara (Margraviate), 249
Fischingen, 315
Flanders, 9 (*n.* 1), 200, 243
Florence (Florentine), 16, 71, 97, 122, 134, 168, 192, 200, 244
Foligno, 13
Forst on the Maifeld, 173
France, 11, 13, 20, 93, 123, 130, 136, 147, 163, 262, 288, 295, 302, 352 (*n.* 1)
Franconia, 82, 173, 200, 231, 293, 309, 324, 336, 347
Frankenberg in Hesse, 73, 174
Frankfort-on-the-Main, 18, 25, 29, 52, 81, 173, 175, 177, 182 f., 237, 274, 276, 337 f., 340, 341
Frankfort-on-the-Oder (university), 87, 94
Freiberg in Saxony, 277
Freiburg in the Breisgau (town), 121 f., 170 f., 173, 211, 255, 265
Freiburg in the Breisgau (university), 29, 85, 87 ff., 104, 118–122, 134, 137, 173
Freising (town), 154, 189
Friemen, 174
Friesland, 62, 309
Fürstenhagen, 174
Fürstenwalde, 170
Fulda, 174, 251

Gardelegen, 170
Gelnhausen, 174
Gemünden, 174
Gerleshofen, 14
Germany, the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, 2, 4, 6 f., 9, 11–19, 21–24, 25–60, 61–85, 86, 92 ff., 97, 99, 102–107, 109, 113 ff., 119, 121, 124, 127, 129, 130–132, 134, 136–139, 142–159, 161–163, 164–178, 179–201, 203–205, 210–213, 241, 242–252, 253–283, 284–290, 291–306, 307, 309–326, 339–354
Gleiwitz, 170
Gloucester, 168
Gmunden, 157
Goch, 29, 83
Göppingen, 39
Görlitz, 336
Goslar, 72
Granada, 14
Greece (Hellas), 101, 123, 141, 143, 146, 188, 200, 277
Greifswalde (town), 72
Greifswalde (university), 86, 90 (*n.* 2)
Groningen, 96, 248
Grossglockau, 336
Grosswardein (bishopric), 139
Guben, 341
Gudensberg, 174
Güstrow, 170
Gurk (bishopric), 157

Haarlem, 51
Hagenau, 18
Haindorf, 174
Halberstadt (town), 214
Hamburg, 236
Hamm, 171
Hanau, 174
Hanover (town), 339 (*n.* 1)
Harle, 174
Harmuthsachsen, near Eschwege, 60
Hausbergen, near Strasburg, 316
Havelberg (town), 170
Heidelberg (town), 30 (*n.* 1), 67, 102, 171, 250, 283
Heidelberg (university), 75, 86, 89 (*n.* 1), 94 (*n.* 1), 101–103, 105 f., 108, 118
Heilbronn, 197
Heiligenblut, near Weiten, 211
Heiligengrabe, 170
Heilsberg (Diocesan Synod), 35
Heilsbronn, 89 (*n.* 1)
Hellas. *See* Greece.
Herdt, near Germersheim, 27
Herrnsheim, near Worms, 171
Herzogenbusch, 62
Hesse, 94 (*n.* 1), 173, 341
Hirsau (Hirschau Abbacy), 115 (annals of), 212
Hirscholm (castle), 317

Höxter, 76
Hofgeismar, 174
Holland, 14 (*n.* 1), 95, 302 (*n.* 1), 345
Hornau, in the Taunus district, 321 f.
Hungary, 19, 93, 136, 141, 169, 189, 193, 197, 205

India. *See* East Indies.
Ingolstadt (town), 17, 282
Ingolstadt (university), 84, 87, 94, 136 f.
Innsbruck, 160, 193, 247
Italy, 13 (*n.* 3), 19, 24 (*n.* 1), 71, 73, 93, 96, 101, 102, 107, 109, 134, 136, 140, 146 ff., 159, 168, 189 (*n.* 1), 194 (*n.* 2), 199, 203, 222, 223, 249, 295, 302, 352 (*n.* 1)

Jenkofen, 211
Jerusalem, 195
Johannisberg abbey, 342
Jülich (town), 96
Jüterbogk, 170
Justingen, 135

Kaisersberg (circle) in Alsatia, 174
Kelchheim, in the Taunus district, 322
Kelheim, 341
Kiedrich, in the Rheingau, 29, 172
Kleinfrankenheim, in Lower Alsatia, 319
Königsberg, in Lower Franconia, 75
Königsbrück, near Selz (monastery), 335, 354
Königshofen, in Alsatia, 292
Künzelsau, 276
Kurbrandenburg (electorate of Brandenburg). *See* Brandenburg.
Kurmainz, Kurpfalz, Kursachsen, Kurtrier. *See* Mayence, Palatinate, Saxony, Treves.

Laach (monastery), 118
Lahn, 27
Laibach, 246
Landau, in the Palatinate, 172
Landshut, 188
Langenberg (district), 315
Laufen, 317
Leidringen, 40
Leipsic (town), 16, 124, 193, 349
Leipsic (university), 75, 86, 91 (*n.* 1) 94 (*n.* 1), 139
Leon, 168
Lincoln (town), 168
Lindau (abbacy), 322
Linz, on the Rhine, near Andernach, 172
Lippstadt, 171
Lisbon, 14
Livonia, 93, 95
London, 14, 295
Lorraine, 302, 341
Louvain, 343
Lower Austria, 320
Lower Bavaria, 320
Lower Germany, 57, 288, 292, 294, 305, 341
Lower Rhine, 185, 202 f., 326, 349
Lower Saxony, 309
Lucerne, 282, 292
Lübben, 341
Lübeck (bishopric), 19
Lübeck (town), 27, 37, 53, 57 (*n.* 1), 60, 72, 194, 198 (*n.* 1), 280, 288, 291, 338, 341
Lüdinghausen, 171
Lusshart (forest), 327
Lyons, 12, 19

Magdeburg (provincial council), 2
Magdeburg (town), 193, 338
Magellan, Straits of, 143
Maidbrunn (monastery), 196
Majorca, 168
Malines, 235
Mantua (margraviate), 249
Marburg, 174, 341
Margaretenthal, near Basle (Carthusian monastery), 124
Margretenhaun, 174
Marienberg, near Boppard, 82
Marienthal, in the Rheingau, 16
Mayence (archbishopric), 11 f., 40, 260, 264, 327, 350
Mayence (provincial council, 1451) 2

Mayence (town), 9 (*n.* 1), 10 (*n.* 1), 11 f., 13, 27, 38, 40, 103, 106, 155, 172, 188, 251, 297, 340, 343 ff.
Mayence (university), 87
Mecklenburg, 341
Meisenheim, 172
Meissen (Diocesan Synod), 35
Memling, near Aschaffenburg, 200
Menchingen, 317
Messina, 13, 199
Metz (town), 172
Michelstadt, in the Odenwald, 27
Middle Rhine, 27
Mid-Germany, 106, 305, 346
Milan (town), 168
Modena, 13
Möllenbeck, 174
Mommersloch (monastery), 172
Mongolia, Mongolians, 9 (*n.* 1)
Montenegro, 16 (*n.* 1)
Moravia, 14
Mosbach, 353
Moselle, the, 316
Münster, 62
Münster, in Westphalia (town), 45, 71 ff., 171
Münsterthal, in Alsatia, 317
Munich, 171, 201, 205, 211, 249, 274 (*n.* 1)

NAPLES (kingdom), 251
Naples (town), 13
Nassenerfurt, 174
Netherlands, 19 f., 61, 71, 80, 243
Neuffen, 39
Neu-ruppin, 170
Neustadt-Eberswalde, 170
Neustadt-on-the-Hardt, 172
Niederbüren, 314 (*n.* 1)
Niederelsungen, 174
Niederhohne, 174
Niederwalgern, 174
Niklashausen, 346
Nivelles, 251
Nördlingen, 9 (*n.* 1), 200
North Europe, 11
North Germany, 19, 61, 154, 171, 193 f., 321, 326, 348
North Sea, 320
North-west Germany, 72
Norway, 93, 95, 345
Nottuln, 171
Nuremberg (town), 12, 13 (*n.* 1), 19, 39, 57, 80, 83 f., 107, 109, 138, 141–148, 180 f., 188 f., 190, 192, 195, 197, 212 ff., 217, 221, 226, 235, 237, 244, 247, 248–251, 282 f., 293 f., 337, 340
Nymwegen, 186

OBERLINGELHEIM, 27
Oberwinterthur, 326
Odenwald, 336
Oderburg, 341
Odernheim, 94 (*n.* 1)
Oehringen, 20
Ofen. *See* Buda-Pesth.
Olpe, in Westphalia, 22, 124
Oppenheim, 101
Orvieto, 168
Ottobeuren (monastery), 105
Oviedo, 168
Oxford (town), 14
Oxford (university), 103

PADUA (town), 146
Padua (university), 82, 93, 140, 146
Palatinate (Electorate), Palatine territories, 30, 100, 106, 167, 172, 250, 327
Palermo, 13
Palestine (Holy Land), 300
Palma, 168
Paris (town), 16, 19, 123, 295
Paris (university), 103, 123, 160
Passau (town), 189, 250, 304
Pavia (university), 82, 93
Pelplin (town), 170
Perugia, 13
Pforzheim, 102
Philippsburg, 327
Pipping, 211
Poland, 19, 93, 136, 169, 193, 197, 245
Pomerania, 71, 199, 311, 312, 320, 344 ff.
Portugal, 14, 168, 197
Prague (university), 86
Pritzwalk, 170
Prüm (abbacy), 316, 318
Prussia (kingdom), 173
Pyrenean peninsula, 14

Radstadt, 249
Rappoltsweiler (circle), 174
Rathenow, 341
Ratisbon (town), 121, 166 f., 170 (*n.* 1), 171, 188, 193, 211, 213 f., 342
Rauschenberg, 174
Redentin, near Wismar, 279
Retterode, 174
Rhenish Franconia, 152
Rhenish Hesse, 27
Rhenish Provinces, 82, 171 f., 321, 342, 344 f., 351
Rhine, Rhinelands, 61, 72, 80, 82, 95, 97, 100, 106, 129, 171, 200, 243, 309, 321, 326 f., 341, 344, 354
Riebelsdorf, 174
Rokeskyll, near Adenau, 172
Rome (Christian), 13, 17, 24 (*n.* 1), 74, 115, 124, 144, 182, 295
Rome (Pagan), 10 (*n.* 1), 146
Rome (university), 103, 148
Ror (monastery), 105
Rosenthal, 174
Rosphe, 28
Rostock (town), 15, 19, 37, 54, 72, 170
Rostock (university), 86, 90 (*n.* 2), 93
Rotenburg, on the Fulda, 174
Rugen (island), 313

St. Goar, 172
St. Gregory, in the Münsterthal (abbacy), 317
St. Martin, in Carinthia, 295
St. Peter, near Mayence, 319
St. Thomas (island), 14
St. Wolfgang, 203 (*n.* 2)
Salamanca (town), 14, 169
Salamanca (university), 103
Salisbury, 168
Salzburg (archbishopric), 157, 213
Salzburg (provincial council), 2
Salzburg (town), 264
Salzwedel, 170, 211
Sangerhausen, 346 (*n.* 1)
Saragossa, 14
Saxony (Albertine lands), 277
Saxony (Electorate), Saxon lands, 45, 71, 91 (*n.* 1), 106, 221, 225, 250, 305, 324, 349, 351, 353
Scandinavia, 93
Scheldt, 61
Scheyern (monastery), 214
Schleswig (bishopric), 19
Schlettstadt, 77, 133, 317
Schlierbach, 174
Schmalkald, 174
Schönberg, 174
Schorndorf, 39
Schweinsberg, 174
Schwerin (town), 341
Schwerte, 171
Scotland, 93, 95, 345
Seebach, near Dürkheim (convent), 83
Seehausen, 170
Segovia, 169
Seligenstadt, on the Main, 29
Servia, 16 (*n.* 1)
Seville, 14
Siegburg, 354
Siena, 13, 168
Sigolsheim (court), 317
Silesia, 339 (*n.* 3)
Simmern, 172
Siponto (archbishopric), 157
Slavs, lands of the, 35, 159
Sobernheim, near Kreuznach, 172
Soden, on the Salza, 174
Soest, 171
Sontra, 174
Southern France, 19
Southern Tyrol, 203
South Germany, 80, 82 f., 134, 136, 138, 198 (*n.* 1), 213, 243, 321, 326
South-west Germany, 106
Spain, 11, 13, 93, 99, 136, 168, 203, 301
Spangenberg, 174
Speyergau, the, 27
Spiesscappel, 174
Spires (bishopric), 16, 36, 122, 327
Spires (town), 14, 78, 166, 214, 250, 340, 354
Sponheim, near Kreuznach (abbacy), 69, 95, 101, 108 ff.
Stablo, 251
Stein, in the bishopric of Spires, 16, 122
Steinau, 174
Stendal, 170, 211
Stettin, 170

Stockholm, 14
Stralsund, 170
Strasburg (bishopric), 38, 129, 132 f., 316
Strasburg, in Alsatia (town), 12, 38, 57, 124 ff., 128 f., 133 f., 166, 168, 172, 212, 248, 265, 283, 292, 339 (*n.* 2), 343
Straubing, 211
Stuttgart, 39
Styria, 320
Suabia, 61, 171, 198 (*n.* 1), 200, 204, 213, 309, 311, 324, 340, 348
Subiaco, 13, 17
Switzerland, 73, 262, 282, 292, 340

Tablat, 314 (*n.* 1)
Tangermünde, 170
Tegernsee, 190, 271
Thann, in Alsatia, 172
Thorn, 170
Thuringia, 292
Toledo, 168
Tolosa, 14
Torgau, 45
Transylvania, 197
Trendelburg, 174
Treves (town), 172
Treves (university), 87
Trittenheim, on the Moselle, 108
Tübingen (university), 17, 87, 88, 103, 122, 134 f.
Türkheim, in Alsatia, 317
Turkey, 7, 131 f.
Tusculum (battle, 1167), 264
Tyrol, 203, 309, 315, 320, 347 (*n.* 1)

Ulm, 9 (*n.* 1), 12, 40, 82, 170 f., 176, 196, 198, 198 (*n.* 1), 204, 211 f., 222, 241, 283, 302, 337 ff., 342
Unna, 171
Upper Austria, 320
Upper Rhine, 126, 129, 342
Upsala (university), 93
Urbino, 13
Ursperg (chronicle of), 150
Utrecht (bishopric), 62
Utrecht (province), 23
Utrecht (town), 51, 186

Valencia, 14
Venice, 13, 19 f., 24 (*n.* 1), 107, 140, 143, 200, 248
Vienna (town), 22, 33, 151, 160, 166, 203, 214, 250, 342
Vienna (university), 75, 86, 92 (*n.* 1), 94, 139, 141, 151, 156 f., 159 f.
Vienne (Council, 1312), 103
Vistula, the, 61
Viterbo, 140
Vornbach (monastery), 214
Vreden, 171

Wadstena (convent), 16 (*n.* 1)
Wächsterbach, 174
Waiblingen, 39
Waldcappel, 174
Walkenried (monastery), 211
Wedderen, 171
Weeze (described as small hamlet, near Goch), 28, 30
Wehrda, 174
Weil der Stadt, 200
Weingarten, near Ravensburg, 196
Weisenau, near Mayence, 27
Wendelstein, 80
Werben, 170
Wesel, on the Lower Rhine, 26, 68, 73
West Indies, 143
Westphalia, 14 (*n.* 1), 62, 70 ff., 80, 96, 99, 171, 203, 262, 313 (*n.* 1), 321, 337 (*n.* 1), 343
West Prussia, 313 (*n.* 1)
Wetter, 27, 174
Wienhausen (monastery), 211
Willingshausen, 174
Wilsnack, 170
Winchester, 168
Windecken, 174
Wismar, 170, 198 (*n.* 1), 279
Wittenberg (university), 87, 91
Wittstock, 170
Witzenhausen, 341
Wolmirstadt, 170
Worms (bishopric), 67, 82, 101, 106, 108, 172
Worms (town), 100 f., 106, 172, 338
Würtemberg (county; also styled duchy), 39, 85, 103, 134, 302
Würzburg (bishopric), 196

Würzburg (town), 17, 196, 202, 340
Wursthausen, 170

Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, 26 f., 60, 73, 103, 172, 175

York, 168
Ypres (in Flanders), 186

Zabern, 251
Zerbst, 277
Ziesar, 170
Zips, 197
Zürich, 172
Zütphen, 23
Zug, 172
Zwickau, 193, 283
Zwolle, 51, 61 f.

INDEX OF PERSONS

Adam von Fulda (musical composer), 251
Adolphus of Nassau (Archbishop of Mayence), 11
Æneas Sylvius. *See* Pius II.
Æsop, 74, 303
Agricola, Rud. (Roelof Huysmann, Humanist), 6, 62, 65–69, 77, 101, 103, 107, 123, 248
Ailly, Pierre d' (cardinal), 121
Alantsee, Leonh. and Lucas (printers), 22
Albert of Saxony. *See* Albrecht.
Albert III. (Duke of Bavaria), 249
Albert VI. (Archduke of Austria), 85, 88
Albertus Magnus, 113
Albrecht III. (Duke of Saxony), 349, 351
Albrecht of Bavaria (Bishop of Strasburg), 133
Alda (?), 74
Aldegrever, Heinrich (painter), 225
Aldus. *See* Manutius.
Alfragan (astronomer), 140
Allendorf, Adam v. (deputy), 83
Allimanic Brothers, 16, 123
Altdorfer, Albrecht (painter), 210, 225
Alunno, Nicholas (painter), 223
Ambrose, St. (Doctor of the Church), 124
Amerbach, Joh. (printer), 12, 16, 21, 109, 124
Amerigo. *See* Vespucci.
Antonelli da Messina (painter), 199
Appeldorn, Herm. (Carthusian), 100
Archimedes, 146
Aretinus, Carolus, 74
Aristotle, 5, 80, 124, 137
Arnpeck, Veit (historian), 292
Arnt (Meister), (painter and sculptor), 186
Arriginus (Humanist), 100
Augustine of Ancona, 75
Augustine, St. (Doctor of the Church), 75, 112, 124, 275
Auslasser, Brother Vitus (illuminator), 214
Austria. *See* Habsburg.
Aventinus. *See* Thurmayr.

Baldung, Hans (painter), 210
Bamler, Hans (printer), 343
Bamberger, Sebald (abbot), 89 (*n.* 1)
Bannisis, Jacob (imperial councillor), 156
Barbirianus (Humanist), 67
Bartholomew of Cologne, 96
Bartholomew the Englishman (Minorite), 344
Basellius, Nic. (Benedictine), 105
Basil, St. (Doctor of the Church), 75, 118
Baumann, Conrad (organ-player), 249 ff.
Baumgartener, Brother George (illuminator), 214
Baumhauer, Sebald (painter), 215
Beatus Rhenanus. *See* Rhenanus.
Beauvais. *See* Vincent.
Bebel, Henry (Humanist), 107
Behaim, Martin (cosmographer and navigator), 144
Beham, Hans Sebald (painter and engraver), 225
Bernard, St., 83, 263
Bernhard (organ-builder), 248 and *n.* 1
Bernts, Heinrich (carver), 186
Berthold, Brother (preacher), 264

Berthold von Henneberg (Elector, Archbishop of Mayence), 301, 350 f.
Bessarion, Basil (cardinal), 139, 140
Bibra, Lorenz von (Bishop of Würzburg), 15, 189, 196
Biel, Gabriel (cathedral-preacher and professor), 40, 42, 113, 126, 135 f.
Birchmann, Franz (publisher), 20
Birnbaum, Heinr. von (Carthusian), 100
Blomevenna, Peter (Carthusian), 100
Bocholt, Franz von (engraver), 222
Böschenstein, Joh. (professor), 137
Boethius, 74
Boner, Ulrich (Friar Preacher), 285
Bongert, Derick (carver), 185
Bossi, Giovan Andrea de' (Bishop of Alesia), 17
Brant, Onufrius, 289
Brant, Sebastian, 22, 25, 123, 125 ff., 128, 147, 232, 287, 288 ff., 304
Breidenbach, Bernhard von (chamberlain), 301
Bruck, Arnold von (dean and composer), 246
Brück, Elizabeth von (abbess), 28
Büchel, Gertrude von (Benedictine nun), 83
Bullinger, Heinr., 73
Bünau, Heinr. von, 106
Burgkmair, Hans (painter), 204, 218
Busch, Joh. (Augustinian provost), 23, 54
Busche, Herm. v. d. (Humanist), 98
Butzbach, Joh. (Humanist), 69, 83, 96, 116, 344

Cabot (navigator), 143
Cæsarius, Joh. (Humanist), 72, 96
Calcar, Jan v., *see* Joest; Joh. v., *see* Stephan
Campano, Joh. Ant. (bishop and Humanist), 17
Cantor, Andreas (Humanist), 96
Cantor, Ursula (nun), 83
Caraffa, Oliviero (cardinal), 17
Casimir IV. (Andreas, King of Poland), 197
Castendorfer, Stephen (organ-builder), 248
Celtes, Conrad (Humanist), 106 f., 150, 154, 158, 339 (*n.* 1), 340 (*n.* 2)
Centurian, Joh., 115
Charles IV. (emperor), 193
Charles the Bold (Duke of Burgundy), 250
Charles the Great, 131
Cicero, 73 ff., 124
Cochläus, Joh. (dean), 24, 39, 80, 251
Coclicus, Adrian (musician), 244
Coelde, Diedrich (Friar Minor), 25, 31, 45, 96
Columbus, Christopher, 14, 143
Columella, L. Junius, 343
Conrad (abbot of Tegernsee), 190
Conrad, James von Zabern (musical composer), 251
Copernicus, Nic., 5, 139 (*n.* 1)
Corner, Herm. (Dominican), 291
Corvinus, Mathias (King of Hungary), 141
Cranach, Lucas, the elder (painter), 210, 218, 226
Crescentis, Petrus de (senator), 342 f.
Cusa, Nicholas of (Cusanus: actually Krebs from Cues, cardinal), 2–5, 7, 27, 43, 62, 112, 139
Cuspinian (Joh. Spieshaimer, statesman and scholar), 75, 154, 159
Cyril, St. (writer of fables), 303

Dalberg, Barbara von (Benedictine nun), 82
Dalberg, Johannes von (Bishop of Worms), 67, 77, 82, 101 ff., 105 f., 283
Dante, 13, 280, 288
Degen, Stephen (illuminator), 214
Deichsler, Heinr. (chronicler and brewer), 294
Dietrich II., Count of Mörs (Archbishop of Cologne), 62
Dionysius, Rickel (the Carthusian), 40, 112
Dissen, Heinr. von (Carthusian), 100
Donatus Aelius (grammarian), 73

Douwermann, Heinrich (carver), 186
Dracontius, James (poet), 106
Dringenberg, Ludwig (Humanist), 62, 71, 77
Dürer, Albert, 30, 138, 145, 147, 156, 162, 183, 194, 205–210, 213, 215, 218–221, 222–226, 229 f., 232, 236, 239 f., 246, 278. His father, Albert (goldsmith), 205, 208; his mother, Barbara (*née* Holper), 206 ff.; his wife, Agnes (*née* Frey), 207, 209
Du Fay, William (composer), 243

Eberhard, Count (later Duke of Würtemberg), 85, 88, 103, 134, 302
Eck, Joh. (theologian), 60, 74, 104, 137 f. His uncle, 74
Egbert, Brother (embroiderer in silk), 187
Eggestein (printer), 57 (*n.* 1)
Eich, Johann III. v. (Bishop of Eichstätt), 260
Eleanor (Archduchess of Austria), 302
Eleonora. *See* Leonora.
Elizabeth of Lorraine (Countess of Nassau-Saarbrücken), 302
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 352 (*n.* 1)
Ellenbog, Nicholas (Benedictine monk), 105
Engelberger, Burkhard (master builder), 170 (*n.* 1)
Engelmann, Nic., 327
Erasmus (cup-bearer at Erbach), 336
Erasmus of Rotterdam, 20, 24, 42, 68, 70, 96, 120, 122 (*n.* 3), 147
Ernest (Duke of Saxony, founder of the Ernestine line), 349, 351
Eschenloer, Peter (historian), 292
Esswurm, Brother John (miniature painter), 214
Etterlin, Petermann (historian), 292
Euclid, 135
Eugene IV. (Pope), 62
Ewert, Master, 185
Eyb, Albrecht von (canon), 46, 283, 303
Eyb, Von, the family (a noble Franconian family), 82
Eyck, Hubert von (painter), 199
Eyck, Jan von (painter), 199
Eysengrein, Martin (theologian and poet), 340

Faber, James (composer), 251
Färber. *See* Tinctoris.
Ferdinand II. (King of Naples), 251
Ferdinand, Valentine (printer), 14
Fichard (jurist), 120
Fichet, Guillaume (Realist), 123
Ficinus, Marsilius (Humanist), 134
Finck, Heinr. (composer), 245 f., 247
Folz, Hans, 282
Fortescue, John (Lord Chancellor), 352 (*n.* 1)
Frank, P. Johannes (illuminator), 213
Frederick (Bishop of Augsburg). *See* Zollern.
Frederick I., Barbarossa (Emperor), 150
Frederick I., the Victorious (Elector Palatine), 100
Frederick III. (Elector of Saxony), 305
Frederick III. (Emperor), 151, 157, 222, 249
Frey, Hans (Dürer's father-in-law), 207
Friedlieb. *See* Irenicus.
Frisner, Andreas (professor of theology), 16
Froben, Johann (publisher), 12, 20, 22
Fütrer, Ulrich (chronicler), 292

Gafor, Franchinus (scholar in music), 251
Galileo, 139 (*n.* 1)
Gama, Vasco da, 143
Garcia de Resende (poet), 14
Gasperin, 74
Gebweiler, Jerome (scholar), 133

Geiler, Joh. von Kaisersberg, 38, 40, 43, 50 (*n.* 1), 75, 77, 113, 123, 126–129, 132–134, 137, 147, 288, 289, 304, 310
Gemmingen, George von (cathedral provost), 78
Gengenbach, Joh. Matthias von (theologian), 123
Gensfleisch. *See* Gutenberg.
Gerbellius, Nicholas, 115
Gerhoh of Reichersberg (provost), 263
Gering, Ulrich, 16 (*n.* 2)
Gerla, Conrad (lute-maker), 250
Gerla, Hans (lute-maker) (the elder and the younger), 250 f.
Gerson, Joh. (actually, Jean Gerhar of Gerson, chancellor), 43, 74, 128
Gertrude of Coblentz (superioress of novices), 82
Ghiberti, Lorenzo (sculptor and brassfounder), 192
Ghirlandajo, Domenico (painter), 200
Giltlingen, Joh. v. (abbot), 150
Giovan Andrea (Bishop of Alesia). *See* Bossi.
Glareanus. *See* Loritz.
Glauburg, Arnold von (patrician), 341
Glockendon (the illuminators), 213
Gmunden. *See* John.
Goclenius, Conrad, 70
Godfrey de Bouillon (Duke of Lorraine), 300
Goodenach, Johann (Carmelite), 251
Gossembrot, Sigismund (burgomaster), 149
Gratius, Ortwin (Humanist), 96
Grefken, Herman (Carthusian), 100
Griesinger, Jacob (painter on glass), 211
Groot, Gerhard, 61 (*n.* 1)
Gruden, Nic. (founder), 194
Grünebeck, Jos., 152, 283
Grünwald, Mathäus, 210
Gulden, Meingot (priest), 28
Gutenberg, Johann Gensfleisch zu, 1, 9 (*n.* 1), 17 (*n.* 1), 19

Hahn, Ulrich (publisher), 17
Haldern, Jan von (sculptor), 186
Habsburg (house), 154
Harff, Arnold (knight), 301
Harris, William (jurist), 97
Hegius, Alexander (Humanist), 62, 67 f., 72, 77 f., 96, 110
Heinfogel, Conrad (mathematician), 145
Helbling (poet), 347 (*n.* 1)
Helfenstein, Count Ulrich v. (imperial councillor), 156
Heller, Jacob (draper), 182 ff.; his wife, Catherine, 184
Henneberg (Elector). *See* Berthold.
Henry II. (Emperor), 197
Henry VIII. (King of England), 352 (*n.* 1)
Herlen, Fred. (painter), 200
Herman I. von Arbon (Bishop of Constance), 263
Herolt, Johann. (Dominican), 40 f.
Herp, Heinrich (Franciscan), 40
Hesiod, 105
Heynlin, Johann. (from Stein, scholastic), 16 and *n.* 1, 23, 113 f., 122–124, 136, 289
Hieronymus, St. (Jerome), (Doctor of the Church), 59, 73, 117, 124
Hildegard, St., 83
Hirschvogel, Veit (painter on glass), 212
Hittorp, Gottfried, 22
Hofheimer, Paul (court organist), 249
Hohenzollern, Fred. v. *See* Zollern.
Holbein, Hans (the elder), 85, 204
Holbein, Hans (the younger), 204, 213, 218
Hollen, Gottschalk (Augustinian), 40
Holthof, Matthew (master joiner), 81
Homer, 75, 103, 105 f.
Horace, 73, 75
Horle, James (Schoolman), 73
Horlenius, Joseph (Schoolman), 70
Horst, Richmondis v. d. (abbess), 83
Horstmar, Aldegundis von, 27
Houdaen, Johann (town pastor), 186
Huss, Hussites, 262 (*n.* 1)

Imhoff, Hans (merchant), 195
Immanuel I. *See* Manuel.
Irenicus, 130
Isaak, Heinrich (chapel-master), 244

James von Breda, 20 (*n.* 1)
James von Jüterbogk, 50 (*n.* 1)
Jan von Calcar. *See* Joest.
Jeger, Derick, 186
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 94, 109
Joan (Popess), 281
Jodocus Pratensis. *See* Josquin.
Joest, Jan (usually Jan von Calcar, painter), 187
John (also Hermann) of Salzburg (Benedictine), 264
John (Bishop of Grosswardein). *See* Pruiss.
John Cicero (Elector of Brandenburg, father of Joachim I.), 94
John Frederick (Prince, later Elector of Saxony), 44 f.
John II. of Baden (Archbishop of Treves), 87 (*n.* 1)
John II. the Perfect (King of Portugal), 14
John of Calcar, 187
John of Erfurt (Carmelite), 251
John of Gmunden, 157
John the Steadfast (Elector of Saxony), 44 f.
Jordanis (historian), 150
Josquin de Près (Jodocus Pratensis, composer), 244
Jovius, Paul, 168
Judenkunig (musician), 251
Julius II. (Pope), 27
Justinger, Conrad (historian), 292

Kaisersberg. *See* Geiler.
Kamener, Tilmann (Schoolman), 70
Kantzow, Thomas (chronicler), 312, 345 f.
Keim, P. Joh. (illuminator), 214
Kemnat, Matthew von (chronicler), 100
Kempen, Hermann von (publisher), 14
Kempen, Thomas v. *See* Thomas.
Ketzel, Martin (burgher), 195
Koberger, Anthony (publishing house), 12, 17 (*n.* 1), 19, 22, 24 (*n.* 1), 109, 217
Kone, Johann (professor), 91 (*n.* 1)
Krafft, Adam (stonecutter), 180, 191, 194 f., 241
Krafft, Ulrich (pastor), 40, 47
Krafft, Ulrich (teacher of jurisprudence), 125
Kranz, Heinrich (organ-builder), 248
Krebs, Nicholas. *See* Cusa.
Kress, Joh. (provost), 80
Kunigunde von Luxemburg (empress), 197

Lacher, Lawrence (master builder), 168
Lachner, Wolfgang (publisher), 12, 19
Ladislaus I. (King of Hungary), 189
Lang, Matthew (chancellor, Bishop of Gurk, later Archbishop of Salzburg), 156 f.
Lang, Paul (chronicler), 115
Langen, Rudolph von (scholar), 62, 71 f., 82
Lanzkrana, Stephen (provost), 33, 44
Lauber, Diepold (bookseller), 18
Lauer, George (printer), 17
Laufenberg, Heinr. von (Dean), 265
Laurence (Bishop of Würzburg). *See* Bibra.
Leonora (Duchess of Bisen, Queen of Portugal), 14
Locher, James (Philomusus), 24, 136
Loritz (Loriti), Heinr. von Glarus (Glareanus), 97, 160, 243
Louis IX. the Wealthy (Duke of Bavaria), 88
Lucas (goldsmith), 190
Lucian, 75
Luder, Peter (Humanist), 100
Luscinius. *See* Nachtigall.
Luther (Lutheran), 21, 44, 246 (*n.* 1), 265, 305
Lyra, Nicholas of, 60, 12

Magellan, Fern. de (navigator), 143
Mahu, Stephen (composer), 246, 247

Mangold, Henry (provost), 98
Manlius, Jacob (historian), 154, 156
Mantuanus, Baptista, 73
Manuel I., the Great (King of Portugal), 13, 197
Manutius, Aldus, the elder (Humanist and publisher), 73, 107
Marca, Leonhard (Barefoot Friar), 248
Marco da Ravenna, 223
Margaret (Duchess of Lorraine), 302
Margaret of Austria (daughter of Maximilian), 169
Margaret Schwester (Carthusian), 214
Marsilius, Ficinus. *See* Ficinus.
Mathesius Johannes I. (theologian), 44
Mathias. *See* Corvinus.
Matilda. *See* Mechteldis.
Matthias (Bishop of Spires). *See* Rammung.
Maundeville, John (Joh. von Monteville) (writer of travels), 300
Maximilian I. (Emperor), 76, 97, 103, 109, 122, 131, 137, 147, 160, 167, 169, 190, 193, 197 (*n.* 1), 213, 218, 222, 229, 232, 236, 245, 247, 286, 305, 340 (*n.* 2)
Mayer, Adam (abbot), 98
Mechteldis of the Palatinate (Countess of Würtemberg; later Archduchess of Austria), 85
Meckenen, Israel von (engraver), 222
Medeborg, Catherine (Rathsfrau), 81
Meder, Johannes (Franciscan), 40
Medici, Lorenzo de', 244 f.
Meisterlin, Sigmund, O. S. B. (historian), 147, 149, 293
Melanchthon, Philip, 97, 269
Memling, Hans (painter), 200 ff.
Mendel, Joh. (publisher), 57
Merian, Matthew, the elder, 178
Meyer, Dr. Pet. (town pastor), 39
Meygenberg, Conrad von (priest), 121
Michael Angelo, 222
Mirandola, Joh. Picus v. (count), 128, 148
Mithridates, William Raymond (teacher of languages), 96
Mörs, D. v. *See* Dietrich II.
Mörs, Heinr. von (Bishop of Münster), 62
Molitor, P. Heinr. (illuminator), 214
Molitor, P. Maurus (illuminator), 214
Monteville. *See* Maundeville.
More, Sir Thomas (chancellor), 70
Moser von Weil, Lucas (artist), 200
Moses, 74
Müller, Heinr., 348
Müller, Joh. *See* Regiomontanus.
Münster, Seb. (cosmographer), 340
Murmellius, John (Humanist), 68, 68 (*n.* 1), 72
Murrho, Sebastian (canon), 74

Nachtigall, Otmar (Luscinius), 128
Nassau (archbishop). *See* Adolphus.
Nauclerus. *See* Vergenhanns.
Neudecker, George (imperial councillor), 156
Neudoerffer, Joh. George (writing and arithmetic master), 12, 19, 191, 193, 197, 215
Neumeister, Joh. (printer), 13
Neusiedler, Hans (musician), 251
Newton, Isaac, 139 (*n.* 1)
Nicholas (Archbishop of Siponto). *See* Perotti.
Nicholas V. (Pope), 2
Nider, Joh., 32
Nordhofer, George, 121
Nythardt, Hans, 283

Obrecht, Jacob (composer), 243, 244
Occo, Adolphus (house physician), 15
Ockenheim, Joh. (composer), 243
Oeglin, Erhard (printer), 13, 266
Oettingen, Joachim v. (count), 38, 351
Ortwin Gratius. *See* Gratius.
Ostheim, Catherine von, 83
Otmar, Joh. (printer), 17
Ott, Joh., 247
Otto von Freising (historian), 154
Otto von Passau, 304

Pacher, Fred. (painter), 203
Pacher, Mich. (painter), 203
Paffraed, Richard (bookseller), 20 (*n.* 1)
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da, 246
Palladio, Andrea (master builder), 168
Pamperl, Jacob, 350
Pannartz, Arnold (printer), 17, 24 (*n.* 1)
Paul, St. (Apostle), 42, 83, 98
Paulus, Deacon (historian), 150
Pellican(us), Conrad (actually Kürschner, Minorite, later professor), 103
Perger, Bernhard (Magister), 157
Perotti, Nicholas (Archbishop of Siponto), 157
Perugino, Pietro, 203
Peter of Ravenna, 97
Petrarch, Francis, 66
Petrucci, Ottaviano dei, 13 (*n.* 2)
Petrus Lombardus, 94
Peuerbach, George von (astronomer), 5, 140, 157
Peutinger, Conrad (Humanist and antiquarian), 85, 106, 137, 148–150, 154, 160; his wife Margaret (*née* Welser), 85
Pfefferkorn, Joh., 24
Pfinzing, Melchior (provost), 155
Pfluger, Thomas (pastor), 40
Philip the Upright (Elector Palatine), 30, 101, 103, 106, 109
Philomusus. *See* Locher.
Picus. *See* Mirandola.
Pirkheimer, Charitas (abbess), 83 f., 148, 158, 221
Pirkheimer, Clara, 84
Pirkheimer, Joh. (patrician), 146
Pirkheimer, Wilibald, 80, 106 f., 120, 146–148, 151
Pius II. (Pope, Æneas Sylvius), 3, 62, 79, 100
Platina (actually Sacchi of Platina), Barthol. (Humanist, librarian of the Vatican), 17
Plato, 5
Platter, Thomas (printer and Humanist), 30 (*n.* 2)
Plautus, 283
Pleningen, Dietrich v. (from Plenigen, jurist), 106
Pliny the Younger, 73
Politianus, Angelus, 148
Polo, Marco, 300
Pomponius Lætus, 148
Pomponius Mela, 80
Potken, Adam (chaplain), 60, 73 f., 98
Potken, Joh. (provost), 74
Pratensis (de Près). *See* Josquin.
Pruiss, Johann IX. (Bishop of Grosswardein), 139
Ptolemy, 122, 135

Queinfurt, Conrad of (pastor), 264
Quentel Erben (publishing house), 97

Radevicus, 154
Raiskop, Aleydis (Benedictine nun), 83
Rammung, Matthias v. (Bishop of Spires), 36
Raphael, 203, 205, 210, 220
Ratdolt, Erhard (printer), 12 (*n.* 4)
Ravenna. *See* Marco.
Regiomontanus (Joh. Müller von Königsberg), 5, 75, 139–146, 157
Rehen (Herr von), 28
Reichmau, Wilhelm v. (Bishop of Eichstätt), 167
Reinsbeck, Michael (musical composer), 251
Reisch, Gregory (Carthusian prior), 104, 113, 118, 121 f., 136, 137
Remaclus (poet), 97
Reuchlin, John, 22, 75, 78, 102–106, 118, 123, 134 f., 137, 148, 157 (*n.* 1), 283
Rhenanus, Beatus, 78, 130, 133
Rickel. *See* Dionysius.
Riemenschneider, Dill (sculptor), 196
Ringenbergh, Kerstken v. (sculptor), 187
Robert (Ruprecht) of Pfalz-Simmern (Bishop of Strasburg), 38
Roder, Christian (mathematician), 141
Rohr, Bernh. v. (Archbishop of Salzburg), 213
Rohrbach, Bernh., 237

Rolewinck, Werner (Carthusian), 11 (*n.* 1), 70, 98-100, 262, 346
Roritzers, the (master builders), 170 (*n.* 1)
Roritzer, Matthew, 167
Rosenburger, Conrad (organ builder), 248
Rosenplüt, Hans (poet), 190, 249, 282, 285
Rosenthaler, Casp., Jac., and Joh. (painters), 203
Roswitha of Gandersheim, 158
Rot, Johannes (cathedral rector), 128
Rotenhau, Anton v. (Bishop of Bamberg), 260
Rothe, Johannes (city recorder), 286, 292
Rudolph (Bishop of Würzburg). *See* Scherenberg.
Rueland, Wolfgang (painter), 203
Rughesee, Nicholas (goldsmith), 194
Ruprecht (bishop). *See* Robert.
Rus, Nicholas, 37
Russ, Melchior (historian), 292
Rynmann, John, 20, 22

Sabellicus, George (apostle of the black art), 114
Sallust, 76
Sarto, Andrea del (painter), 223
Schäuffelin, Hans (painter), 210, 218, 225
Schedel, Hartmann (town physician and chronicler), 146 *f.*, 218
Scherenberg, Rud. v. (Bishop of Würzburg), 15, 196
Scheurl, Christopher (jurist and chronicler), 83, 226
Schilling, Diebold (historian), 292
Schlick, Arnold (organist), 250 f.
Schöferlin, Bernh., 297
Schöffer, Johann, 297
Schön, Martin. *See* Schongauer.
Schönsperger, Hans (printer), 12, 22, 343
Schönstätt, Hans von (knight), 28
Schoner, Joh. (mathematician), 145
Schongauer, Caspar (goldsmith), 207
Schongauer, George (goldsmith) 207
Schongauer, Louis (painter), 207
Schongauer, Martin (Martin Schön), 200 f., 203, 207, 222 f., 232, 237
Schongauer, Paul (goldsmith), 207
Schott, Peter the elder, 38, 128
Schott, Peter the younger, 128
Schrader, Wilhelm (monk), 105
Schraders, Adelheid (lay sister), 211
Schreyer, Sebald, 147, 195
Schwarz, Peter (Dominican), 103
Schweynheim, Conrad (printer), 13, 17, 24 (*n.* 1)
Scipio. *See* Steber.
Scriptoris, Paul (Guardian of Minorites), 17, 104, 135
Seld, George (goldsmith), 188
Seneca, 74
Senfl, Louis (composer), 245, 247
Shakespeare, William, 204
Siberti, James, 118
Sibutus, George (poet), 97
Sickingen, Franz von, 114
Sigismund (Archduke of Tyrol), 303
Sigismund (King of Bohemia), 260
Sorg, Anton (printer), 343
Spangel, Pallas (theologian), 105
Spangenberg, Cyriacus (chronicler), 260, 346 (*n.* 1)
Specklin, Daniel (military architect), 223
Spiegel, Jacob (imperial councillor), 156
Spiegelberg, Moritz v. (count), 72, 82
Spieshaimer, Joh. *See* Cuspinian.
Sprenz, Sebastian (Sperantius, court secretary; later, Bishop of Brixen), 106, 156
Stabius, John (historian), 106, 154, 156, 159
Staffel, Margaret von, 83
Steber, Barthol., styled Scipio (physician), 159
Stein, Marquard von, 303

Steinhöwel, Heinr. (physician), 303 f.
Stöffler, Johannes (pastor and astronomer), 135
Stolle (chronicler), 346
Stoss, Veit (sculptor &c.), 197
Süstern, Theodore von (theologian), 98
Summenhart, Conrad (theologian), 103, 135 f.
Suntheim, Ladislaus (historian), 154, 156
Surgant, Joh. Ulrich (preacher), 36, 47
Suso, Henry (painter), 304
Sylvius, Æneas. *See* Pius II.
Syrlin, Jürgen (sculptor), 198, 241

TAULER, JOHN, 304
Tausendschöne, Maria (confectioner), 176
Terence, 74, 283
Textoris, William (theologian), 123
Themar, Adam Werner v. (jurist), 106
Thomas à Kempis, 62
Thomas Aquinas, St., 113
Thurmayr, Joh. (Aventinus), 137, 292
Tinctoris (Färber), Joh. (choirmaster), 251
Titian, 205
Traxdorf, Heinr. (organ-builder), 248
Treizsaurwein, v. Ehrentreiz Max, 153
Trithemius, Joh. (abbot), 3, 5, 50 (*n.* 1), 69, 83, 84, 95, 101, 106, 108–116, 123, 126, 136, 151, 212, 251, 288
Tscheckenburlin, Jerome (son of a patrician), 236
Tucher, Anthony (merchant), 198
Tucher, Apollonia (Clarissinian nun), 84
Tucher, Margaret, 193
Tucher, Sixtus (lawyer), 84
Tungern, Arnold v. (theologian), 98, 104
Turrecremata (Torquemada), Joh. v. (O. Pr.: cardinal), 17
Turzo, John (Bishop of Breslau), 39
Twinger, Jacob (canon), 292

UNREST, JACOB (pastor and chronicler), 295, 347
Utenheim, Christopher v., 123

VASCO. *See* Gama.
Vega Carpio, Lopez de, 14
Venray, Lambert von (rector), 73
Vergenhanns, Johannes, 135
Vespucci, Amerigo, 122, 143
Vigilius, Joh. (actually Wacker, cathedral canon), 106
Villinger, Jacob (imperial councillor), 156
Vincent von Beauvais, 121
Vintler, Hans v. (poet), 286
Virdung, Sebastian (musical composer), 251
Virgil, 73, 244, 275
Vischer, Peter (coppersmith), 162, 191 f., 194, 241
Volkamer, 212

WACKER. *See* Vigilius.
Wagner, P. Conrad (illuminator), 214
Wagner, P. Leonard (illuminator), 214
Waldseemüller, Mart., 122
Walther, Bernard (astronomer), 142
Wann, Paul (canon), 40
Weidenbusch, Nic. (monk), 123
Weingarten, 'Meister' von, 196
Welser, Margaret. *See* Peutinger.
Welser, Veronica (prioress), 85
Werner, John (mathematician), 145
Weyden, Roger van der (painter), 200
Wild, Hans (painter on glass), 212
Wildenberg, Hans Ebran v. (chronicler), 292, 296
Wilhelm, Meister (painter), 200
Wimpheling, James (Humanist), 6, 10 (*n.* 1), 11, 15, 21, 23 f., 65 f., 71, 77–80, 90, 92, 105–109, 113 ff., 124, 127 ff., 131, 137, 144, 147, 152 ff., 202, 241, 262 (*n.* 1), 288, 303, 347
Wolf, Thomas (canon), 128
Wolf, Thomas the Younger, 129

Wolff, Johann (chaplain at Frankfort), 25 f., 37, 52
Wyle, Nicholas v. (chancellor), 85, 302

Zaehringer, Angelica, 196
Zainer, Joseph (printer), 12 (*n.* 4)
Zasius, Ulrich (jurist), 29, 106, 118–121, 137, 148, 290
Zeiler, M. (topographer), 178
Zeitbloom, Barthol. (painter), 204
Zink, Burk. (chronicler), 293, 296
Zollern, Count Fred. v. (canon of the Strasburg Cathedral, later Bishop of Augsburg), 38, 128 f.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

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